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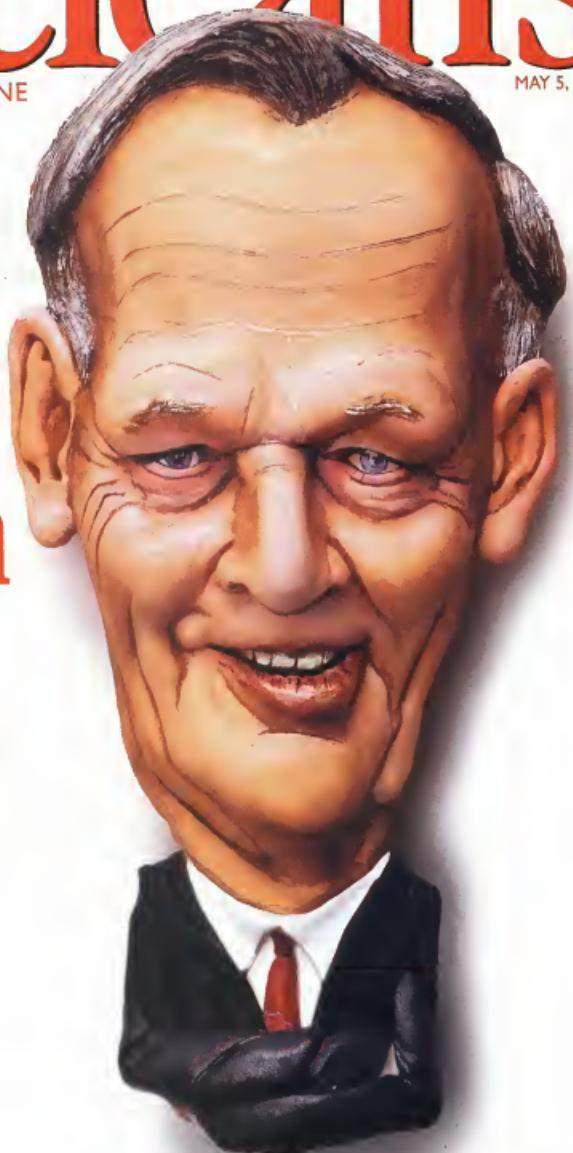
CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

MAY 5, 1997

He is playful and
ruthless, daring
and stubborn.
But...

Is Jean Chrétien up to the job?

By Anthony Wilson-Smith



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Maclean's
CANADA'S
WEEKLY
NEWSMAGAZINE

This Week

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HEALTH 57

Please! End some doctors' locking in their ability to provide

From The Editor

Remembering the good times



Lester Pearson would have been amused. Last week, as guests gathered on Parliament Hill for a ceremony commemorating the 100th anniversary of the former prime minister's birth, the parading going on called the MPs to a war in the Commons—deslating the celebration for 30 minutes. Pearson, of course, was used to having his policies and plans derided by the Commons. He headed two minority governments in the 1950s and there was usually a scandal or a crisis on his plate. Once, when Pearson was away on vacation, his Liberals lost a vote on a budget—enough to topple any parliamentary government. Pearson cleverly killed his war out of the mess. Another day, a damaged man flew himself up with a torch in a washroom near Pearson's office—as a judicial inquiry down the street was taking evidence about an alleged East German spy and a Tory minister.

Pearson's Ottawa was something of a circus. It takes events such as last week to remember that it also was a period of impressive nation building. The Maple Leaf flag, national health care, the national pension plan and international peacekeeping—all part of Pearson's legacy—have become central to the Canadian fibre.

Lester Pearson also would have been pleased last week. The guests were from various political parties, a display of bipartisanship that he surely saw in his heyday. There were Pearsonists including Jean Chretien and Ron Bradford, both members of the media class of 1963. Former Tory Senator Heath Macquarie was there, along with his former PCI Companion mate David MacDonald, now about to run for the NDP in Toronto's Basboard riding. And beside MacDonald sat Alexa



Pearson: a Living Legacy

characteristically ebullient assessments from staff correspondents and a critical look at the major fronts. Owner Editor Anthony Wilson-Smith and Maclean's staffers in Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Calgary and Vancouver will report on the parties' national campaigns while Contributing Editor Mary Jangian casts her expert eye on the key issues.

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

Election coverage

With this issue, Maclean's launches six weeks of election coverage culminating with a special report on the outcome that will be published two days after the vote. Co-ordinated by National Editor Peter Kropfman, the weekly package will feature reports from special panels of undecided voters in the key ridings across

Magazine awards

Maclean's last week received 10 nominations for the May 23 National Magazine Awards for articles in eight categories, from business and politics to entertainment and cover art. The article nominees: Assistant Managing Editor Ann Dowdell-Johnston; Senior Writers James Deacon, Brian D. Johnson, Marcia McDonald and Jennifer Wells; Anthony Wilson-Smith; Associate Art Director Ghislain Simard; and Contributor David Macfarlane. More in a subsequent note.



Simard: issues and the trends

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The Mail



Mitchell, Gibb Reunions can be a lot of work, but worth it.

'Happy reunions'

I feel happy and just as about the reunion of Josie Mitchell and her daughter Eileen Gibb ("Josie's secret," Cover, April 22). It's hard not knowing where you come from. After four years, and with the help of a social service agency in Montreal, I've found my birth mother. Through a social worker, we will establish contact in the form of letters to get to know each other a bit. As much as I want to meet her, she is not yet ready to take that step. So I'm patient and saddened by the fact that I haven't been so fortunate to meet my birth mother yet, and happy that another reunion between an adoptive and a birth mother has been successful. And a birth mother has been successful. It's a good thing. I lose my (adoptive) parents more than sublimating things like. They've always been there and continue being there for me to support me in my search.

Jennifer Foss

Montague, Ont. 26

Why is it necessary to teach ESL to immigrant children in elementary schools? As the children of immigrants who arrived in Canada in 1951, long before the days of second-language and heritage-language programs, my brother and I entered that grade without a word of English, and we speak it now barely by Grade 7. We immigrant children of the past did not end up out of school more often or develop more problems than our Canadian-born classmates. On what are the current immigrations based? I would be interested in knowing how many

When it came to determine the cover story, did you forget that all relevant questions is "Josie's secret" really more important and more newsworthy than the history of Canada? Leave the tabloid writing to the tabloids.

Jane Bellotti
Montague, Ont. 26

Do kids need ESL?

More than a million dollars, a veritable microscope, available for the promotion of multiculturalism and the teaching of English as a second language ("Who should pay for ESL?" Education, April 10). It would be magnanimous if we enjoyed a debt-free country and could afford such generous treatment. But, sadly, we cannot. Where else in the world are its citizens subsuming immigrant language instruction?

Roger Darrow Fisher
Isham, B.C. 26



Royal marking 80th anniversary of Canadian victory at Vimy Ridge, France

Veteran correction

When I lived with my grandparents in New Brunswick in Fredericton in the early 1980s, my grandfather introduced me to Maclean's magazine by having me read an article Allan Fotheringham with his Grandson has read Maclean's for as long as I can remember, and I am certain that he felt honored to see his picture in "Return to Vimy" (World Notes, April 21). Unfortunately, the photograph is incorrectly identified. The First World War veteran in the foreground is my grandmother, Alexander Boyd, age 98, of Fredericton.

Janice Dennerstein
Kingston, Ont.

first-generation non-English-speaking students have dropped out of school over the years compared with native-speakers, both prior to and after ESL came into effect, I would be interested in knowing how many, proportionately, went on to either or higher education. ESL levels might more usefully be applied in teaching English to the older adults and parents, for whom language-learning is more difficult, and to special educators or enhanced education programs.

Mary Karkowski
Asbury, N.W.T. 26

Skills and funds

Your article on the desperate need for computer programmers in Canada made it clear that education and government need to focus on drawing people of all ages and skills into the technology field ("Desperate for help," Business, April 21). As a recent graduate of the master of library and information studies program at Dalhousie University, I find myself needing further education in order to gain the competitive edge. But with \$30,000 in student loans and no long-term prospects on the horizon, how am I, or my peers, expected to afford a \$17,000 computer course to gain the needed skills? Clearly, if the powers that be want to get results, we need better funding for students, and far better job prospects in all areas.

Dan Trottier
Halifax 26

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CAMRY

TAKEntheBRIGHTSIDEoftheROAD

Backstage



Anthony Wilson-Smith

Chrétien is driven by a will to win

One of the favorite stories that Paul Martin tells about Jean Chrétien concerns a topic near to the hearts of both men: the annual budget. After each of the four budgets that Martin has so far presented, he and the Prime Minister have always made a bet as to which man could most accurately forecast the final size of the deficit. Each time, Chrétien has won, and the two men have agreed to go double or nothing in their bet the following year. This year, when the Prime Minister was gone, they agreed it was finally time for the finance minister to pay up. But when Martin showed up at Chrétien's office with a cheque, the Prime Minister took one look at it and refused to accept it. Too low, he said, you owe me more than that. A nephewed Martin insisted that this was not the case, and settlement has been postponed pending resolution of other matters—such as, say, an election. "It's an outrage," says a smirking Martin with poorly hidden anger. "He beats us on the big numbers, and then he wants to rub it in on the small ones."

Perhaps, but the tale also illustrates two qualities that may shape the personality of Chrétien: his remarkable instincts, born of long experience, and his ceaseless will to win. Talk to almost anyone who deals with him regularly, and similar stories emerge. That demonstrating one or both traits Justice Minister Allan Rock, a public policy wonk who has had the roughest political ride of any senior minister, says that Chrétien has often taken the time to sit down privately with him and related him that many others—staring with himself—have faced similar travails. But Rock adds, "He's such an old pro at politics that there are times when you can tell he takes a certain delight from watching a rookie like me learn the ropes. It's a reminder that experience is still the best teacher." In other, less polite terms, the Prime Minister is not above taunting. On the other side of the coin, Mitchell Sharp, who as finance minister in 1987 beat Chrétien as his parliamentary secretary, recalls the younger man's thirst to learn at all costs. Chrétien, who then barely spoke English, often used to show up at Sharp's home unannounced, and knock on the door if he saw the car in the garage. Sometimes, during parties, Sharp, an accomplished pianist, would play long classical pieces while Chrétien recited the same sheet for hours. Then there'd be a long rest to nothing about music. Today Sharp says, "He has a remarkable level of taste and knowledge about all sorts of music."

These qualities will be particularly important in the election campaign to come—but not always in a fashion no one might expect. When opponents called Chrétien "yesterday's man" in the 1983 campaign, his response was that position the only business in which people say you have too much experience."Chrétien was

wrongly—but the been-there-done-that mentality that comes with such experience is not always an asset. Most of the worst gaffes of Chrétien's political career have come when he underestimated the form of opposition, and convinced allies that any trouble would soon pass. In 1986, Chrétien repeatedly reassured opponents of the March 16 accord that if it did not pass, there would be no binding alternatives in Quebec. Even those who dispensed the contents of the accord now have to acknowledge that the damage lingers to this day. Similarly, it took Chrétien and his advisors more than two weeks to recognize the profound change that came in the 1985 Quebec referendum campaign when Lucien Bouchard effectively took over leadership of the Yes side from Jacques Parizeau. Though no one has yet convincingly explained why the No side could have done differently, it remains true that Chrétien shrank, until the last week of the campaign, that there was nothing to worry about said half more than judged. The same sort of problems surround Chrétien's intense competitiveness, the least attractive flip side is that he can be, not to mention worse, a sore loser. The most obvious example of that is the gracious manner in which Chrétien handles a broken promise to reform the Goods and Services Tax. To this day, he refuses to acknowledge the extent of the damage he caused himself by bringing people who questioned him on the issue during a CBC television town-hall forum last year. Similarly, the Prime Minister, who can be so surmising and even overly self-focusing in actions in which he feels comfortable, has a touch master side that shows up when he feels uncomfortable, or out of sorts. That showed up most recently in the embarrassing round of bickering that took place between Chrétien and Premier Lucien Bouchard at a signing ceremony intended to herald a good-news record on transit power in Montreal last week.

One of the keys about Chrétien, Petras says, is that the central elements of his character have remained unchanged. His chief of staff, Jean Pelletier, who has known Chrétien since the two were in their early teens, says that of all their discussions from high school days, the Prime Minister has changed the least. To a certain extent, he likes rules—but only when he can adjust the outcome of the few. Two of his most durable appointments to cabinet were rockies Rock and Natural Resources Minister Anne McLellan. "I am very compliant," says McLellan. "She took a huge chance on me." Perhaps—but it failed, as McLellan has replaced her. An election campaign is a theatre whose cast includes events that cannot be anticipated—or situation Chrétien faces—and it must be won at all costs, which is an ambition that drives Chrétien at all times. Other than the 1984 leadership campaign, Chrétien has never lost. If anything goes unexpectedly wrong for the Liberals this time, their campaign will not be a pretty sight.

An old pro, the PM is not above gloating as he watches rookies struggle to learn the ropes that he mastered long ago

Opening Notes

Edited by BARBARA MYKONOS



The Matthew re-enacting a voyage from 1583 years ago

Sailing in Cabot's historic wake

When the replicas of John Cabot's ships—the Matthew, built in Canada's waters, or June, 4 sail re-enact four of the country's sailing sons—Peter Marocco, 23, of Toronto, and Newfoundlanders Chris Tregow, 30, Luke Poyer, 27, and John Smith, 25, last week tried an medieval-style mile-long race and flippy race in preparation for the re-enactment of the famous 1497 voyage from the English port of Bristol. Sarah, who first went to sea at 16, and with her experience to help organize the仿古航行 Newfoundlands, is under the sea. She says about how far the voyage will be. "The month of May is not very long one in the North Atlantic," she says. But he considers the tiny 19-metre one of the ship as an advantage. "She'll probably be faster to you because a smaller boat is like a



Minister
Tonly qualche
with my own
money

A minister's hockey bet

The man charged with managing the nation's finances turns out to be a bit of a gambler. Two weeks ago, Paul Martin invited a whopping \$3 in a Stanley Cup hockey pool! The finance minister—dubbed "Money Bag" by the pool's organizers—had 10 players on his team, which included Mark Messier of the New York Rangers, Doug Gilmour of the New Jersey Devils, and Paul Kariya of the Anaheim Mighty Ducks. But shockingly, from a Montreal MP and longtime Canadiens fan—who, in a nod to the town where he works, is also an occasional Ottawa Senators booster—Martin has no players from any of the three Canadian teams that made the playoffs. In this instance, however, Martin gets to pass the buck. Even though he claims to follow the play-offs closely, he admitted that out of his six actually selected the easier for him. "You blow my cover," an embarrassed Martin told Montreal's "I would have picked someone from a Canadian team." He will use his hockey winnings to join a summer home baseball pool. "Don't worry," he added. "I only gamble with my own money."

Sweet strains of protest

When 22 of Vilém Svatopluk's neighbors were massacred in a mortar attack in Russia, he protested. Not with a gun, but with music. Svatopluk defiantly played his cello in the streets of Sarajevo for 22 days in 1992 amid a hail of expertly lobbed. So last week, when Citizenship and Immigration Minister Irwin Cotler refused to grant Svatopluk, 48, a visa's visa and loan that the unapologetic cellist might overstay his welcome in Canada, Victoria-based artist Deryck Weston decided to protest. With his guitarists. Later this week, Weston will arrive in London, where Svatopluk now resides, to personally apologize to two or half of all Canadians. Upon his return to Canada, Weston, 43, who with his wife, Elizabeth McPherson, 42, is collaborating on a children's book with Sea Dogs, will paint portraits in downtown Vancouver of 220 crabs. Crabs in excess of 300,000 are expected for the festivity, which will include more than a dozen brewfests, car booting from the famous Clifton Suspension Bridge. Weston will mark the start of the seven-week voyage by celebrating his 7th birthday on April 29 aboard the Matthew. "What better place?" he declares.

Convicted by a cat

It is a murder case without precedent in Canada. And instead of the usual legal journals, it has attracted the attention of the British scientific journal *Nature*. That is because the evidence against a Summer end, PEI, man convicted of the second-degree murder of his former girlfriend included some unusual forensic science—analysis of DNA taken from the murderer's cat, Snowbell. While analysis of human DNA is now common, scientists say the trial last year of Douglas Beaupré is the first in which animal DNA was admissible in court. In part, that is why Beupré's lawyer, John MacDougall, has lodged an appeal. Testing cat DNA, says MacDougall, is highly suspect. And, as he tells jurors last July, "without the cat, the case falls flat." All started when Shirley Degany disappeared in October, 1994. About three weeks later, the RCMP found a leather jacket covered with blood, which tests later showed was Degany's. Her body was discovered in May, 1995. The jacket having also contained several strands of white cat hair. A DNA test matched the hair to Beaupré—and helped to link the jacket to Beaupré. One of the scientists who tested Snowbell, Marilynn Merkoul-Raymond of the National Cancer Institute in Frederick, Md., said the methods used are accurate and were "acceptable for publication in two highly respected journals," *Nature*, but the species, which could be breed as easily as Snowbell, could help determine whether the science is, in fact, legally sound.

11 Photos: Getty Images. Composite photo: Brian Bellamy

Warm words for Quebec

No one can accuse New Brunswick of being staffed by scrooges. Often criticized for trying to woo Canadian businesses from other provinces, officials in Fredericton are now openly courting for a taste of Marie's tourism industry. Marie raised from any side of the art will be depicted as a hand in Beaupré's name. Meanwhile, Weston is also trying to organize musical and artistic demonstrations in 22 cities across Canada. "Marie Svatopluk has shown the world a different way to act," says Weston. "He will make the sailors pride themselves as a good skill shot." Weston was willing to risk his life playing his cello.

The message is getting across: since the campaign began, the number of calls from Quebec to the New Brunswick fall-tourism line has quadrupled to more than 4,000 daily. Quebecers in Maine say they are not surprised by New Brunswick's new tact. Tourism is a very competitive and fickle market and everybody is trying to get everybody else's customers, says Nathaniel Bowditch, a spokesman for the Maine tourism office in Augusta. "But New Brunswick won't get them off. Maine has a very strong history of tourism visitors."

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

- 1 *All the Missing Persons* (H)
- 2 *The Edge* (Marta Wilson) (D)
- 3 *Fall in New York* (John le Carré) (D)
- 4 *White Heat* (James M. Cain) (D)
- 5 *The Partner* (John Grisham) (D)
- 6 *Breakfast for Mrs. Wilson* (D)
- 7 *The Ranch* (Deirdre Swift)
- 8 *Good to Know* (Terry Hayes) (D)
- 9 *The Enchanted* (Cyril Shapsberg) (D)
- 10 *Drums of Autumn* (Doris Lessing) (D)

NONFICTION

- 1 *One Life to Live* (John le Carré) (D)
- 2 *True Colors & Other Stories* (David Hockney) (D)
- 3 *Second Mouse on a Hawk* (Andrew Weil) (D)
- 4 *Right Words in Extreme Health* (Andrew Weil) (D)
- 5 *Sex on the Brain* (Alfred Kinsey) (D)
- 6 *Kiss, Kiss* (Audrey Hepburn) (D)
- 7 *Deadly Habits* (Robert Keeble) (D)
- 8 *Eyes* (Peter Greenaway) (D)
- 9 *Demise of the Soul* (Samuel Johnson) (D)
- 10 *Possessed* (Marilynne Robinson) (D)

11 Photos: Getty Images. Composite photo: Brian Bellamy

Mother knows best



Do As I Say, Not As I Did: Practical Advice from an Impatient Mother, by **Marilyn Reddy** (Dove, the former actress-in-chief of *Savvy* magazine), is a welcome addition to the shelves of bath-and-relaxing books. Among the reasons she gives her daughters for skipping school, "I can't quit you yet."

New Brunswick Jeffords in Quebec Day folks

Claims that, according to data from Environment Canada and the U.S. National Oceanic Data Centre, New Brunswick has the warmest coastal air temperature of any of the 49 states. "The bottom line is, the Atlantic is cold and people want warm-water beaches," says Harvey Sawyer, executive director of founders and partners in New Brunswick

The message is getting across: since the campaign began, the number of calls from Quebec to the New Brunswick fall-tourism line has quadrupled to more than 4,000 daily. Quebecers in Maine say they are not surprised by New Brunswick's new tact. Tourism is a very competitive and fickle market and everybody is trying to get everybody else's customers, says Nathaniel Bowditch, a spokesman for the Maine tourism office in Augusta. "But New Brunswick won't get them off. Maine has a very strong history of tourism visitors."

Hired: Former president of Paraguay

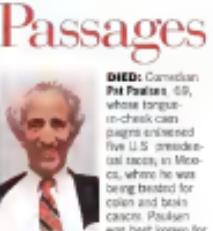
Alberto Benítez, 73, of cancer in New York City. Considered one of the richest men in South America, Benítez died over three days. **Alberto Benítez** in a steady two-day camp in 1989.

Fired: Professional golfer **Fuzzy Zoeller**, 45, from a sponsorship deal with the Kraft class, in Troy, Mich., after Zoeller made racist remarks directed at Masters champion **Tiger Woods**, 21, in an interview with CNET.

Required: A request for U.S. citizenship by Grammy-winning jazz trumpeter **Arturo Sandoval**, 47, after American immigration officials in Miami claimed that Sandoval, who defected to the United States from Cuba in 1990, had been a member of the Communist party.

Harmed: Tennis champion **Andre Agassi**, 35, and actor **Brooks Shephard**, 31, in Compton, Calif.

MARIE-ÈVE LÉGER/PHOTOGRAPHY



Died: Comedian **Pat Proterer**, 69, whose tongue-in-cheek catch-phrases enhanced five U.S. presidential races, in Mexico, where he was being treated for colon and brain cancer. Proterer was best known for his appearances on *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, which won him an Emmy in 1968. That same year, he announced his first run for president, and by 1972 was on the ballot for real. Among his campaign promises: improving the postal service ("I can lose your mail for half that much") and gun control. "As a sportsperson, I believe everyone should have a gun—for fishing!"

Hired: Suspected Nazi war criminal **Joseph Nantsi**, 83, in Ottawa, Ont. Nantsi, the alleged commander of a Hitler Guard unit responsible for deporting Jews to Auschwitz, arrived in Canada from Slovakia in 1950.

Dismissed: Former Vietnamese conductor and concertmaster caring cancer patient **Herbert Beigert**, 59, of lung cancer, in a Santa Monica, Calif., hospital. Held captive by the Nazis at Dachau, Beigert reported fellow inmates to perform secret concerts to raise the spirits of the prisoners.

Hired: Professional golfer **Fuzzy Zoeller**, 45, from a sponsorship deal with the Kraft class, in Troy, Mich., after Zoeller made racist remarks directed at Masters champion **Tiger Woods**, 21, in an interview with CNET.

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MARIE-ÈVE LÉGER/PHOTOGRAPHY

Passages

IS HE UP TO THE JOB?

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH



For those who have ever wondered what a prime minister does for fun, here is an example. In early April, Jean Chrétien was in British Columbia for several events that included a luncheon meeting with Liberal contributors in McDonald's restaurant in Surrey, Burnaby (the Mac, large fries with no ketchup and coffee for the Prime Minister). Chrétien decided to visit the restaurant staff behind the counter. He shook hands with several cooks and servers, then spotted a woman working at the drive-through window. "Would you mind?" he asked, stepping past her with a smile. The next three customers pulling up to the window were given, along with their orders, a smile, a polished handshake and the announcement: "Hi! I'm Jean Chrétien, the Prime Minister." The predictable result: one Chris-tian after recall, was "utter astonishment." One woman looked as though she didn't know whether to giggle or faint.

Moments are made of such things—any of those patrons could later find anyone who behaved them. Other than that, there are several prospective lessons to be drawn from the latest escapade of Jean Chrétien. If this prime minister and sometime prime minister (one for political friends and allies) is as he appears—a June 2 election, the 63-year-old Chrétien has lost some of luster for both his life and his job. "He just loses doing the unexpected," says Eddie Goldenberg, his senior adviser and after age of more than 25 years' standing. The other consideration, one for Chrétien's optimistic opponents, is that he will soon need such practice for a new career if his decision to go to the polls only 13 months from his present mandatory retirement is a bad one. "The Canadian people," says Reform Leader Preston Manning, "are just waiting for the opportunity to hold this government and this junior minister accountable."

If that is the case, they will soon have their wish—and so we will have more to state than Chrétien, whose place in history will be determined, at least in part, by the result. But the man who would lead Canada into a new millennium appears to be a man more familiar than he was when he took power in 1980. Is the real Jean Chrétien the glad-handing day server that *Guardian* have come to know—and—strangely Quebec-based—often love during the past three decades? Can a man who was first elected 37 years before the end of the century have the vision and gumption to lead the country into another one? And after all this time in public office, in a period when politicians are reviled more than revered, why would he even want to?

As the Liberals begin their campaign, Chrétien is, in the words of Finance

COVER

Even after 3½ years in office, the Prime Minister remains an unknown quantity



**Chrétien a unknown
man proving that an
early election will help
ensure his place in history**

Minister Paul Martin, "far and away the party's biggest, most important asset." But some sleights, even within the party, would argue that the title now belongs to Martin himself. Chrétien, after three years of revelling in the highest popularity ratings of any prime minister in the last half-century, has during the past six months often appeared to have lost his tattered political innocence, starting from malapropos to manipulate a straightforward remark about Prota's handling of the Goods and Services Tax and taxes with Quebec, two series of recent and hardly pre-electoral promises that he added the party's carefully established image of flagging. The Prime Minister's recent behavior has raised the question: Is he up to it? "There is," says a senior Liberal organizer, "a very real fear that our support could well very quickly."

That feeling is most acute in Ontario, where Liberal fears of Conservative Leader Jean Charest—seen as a younger, more charismatic, similarly middle-of-the-road and equally devout Catholic version of the Prime Minister—run the highest. In Toronto, despite the divided state of the present opposition, some Liberals now insist dark predictions about a minority government, and claim that many voters perceive Chrétien as being out-of-touch and out of ideas. Among the concerns cited the near-loss in the 1995 Quebec referendum, the government's seeming inability to decide on a strategy for national unity, Chrétien's increasing isolation in office, and his unwillingness to articulate a specific vision of where he wants to take the country.

Perhaps more than anything else, the latest point could be the party's Achilles heel: the last budget, says Martin, "marked the turning of a corner," from a preoccupation with deficit reduction to new priorities. But so far Chrétien has not made clear what those priorities will be. They could range from tax cuts and continuing reduction in government spending to the creation of new programs such as day care or enhanced funds for health care. But at this point, concedes one Liberal adviser, "we're known because we haven't told people properly. And perhaps we haven't told people because we don't really know."

Then there is Quebec. In this century, no prime minister from that province, before Chrétien, has failed to win a majority of seats in his home land. This time, it is virtually certain that the Bloc Québécois, under new leader Gilles Duceppe, will repeat its success of 1993 and again win most of Quebec's 75 ridings. Chrétien faces a difficult election fight in St. Marguerite from his bitter rival Yves Duharre, a moderate socialist who later became a Parti Québécois minister. If Chrétien loses, and even if the Liberals win the election, there will be enormous pressure from both inside and outside the party for him to step down, before another Quebec referendum. And if he wins, the question remains can he handle the issue when it again arises—with inevitability?

Despite such concerns, the Liberals' ad campaign and overall strategy will revolve almost entirely around the Prime Minister. Is doing so, they say again placing their destiny in the hands of a leader who, as described by close associates, is a bundle of contradictions. Jean Chrétien is portrayed as an alternately complex, straightforward, playful, withdrawn, soft-spoken, long-time plain folks, a culture native, courteous, daring, progressive, firmly anchored in the past, a whiz at deciphering complex policy, easily bored and impatient with many issues, open to new ideas and arguments, and maddeningly indecisive.

But there are several Chrétien qualities on which everyone agrees. "Jesus," says Mitchell Sharp, his 51-year personal adviser and 65-year-old mentor, "always

knows exactly what he wants and can cut through any amount of double talk to get to it." And, notes Peter Colleente, an old friend who is director of investigations at the Prime Minister's Office, "He is usually at his most comfortable when he is being uncommunicative." She adds, "Lots of people say they want to be like that, but not many really like others thinking they are less able than they are. In my case, he is so comfortable with himself that he accepts it, and moves to fit it into his strategy."

The criticism comes, by now, familiar: he is said to be bound by detail, impulsive at the point of being argumentative, out of touch with the national unity question, uninterested in anything more substantive than clearing his desk of paper by the end of every day. In fact, Chrétien's energy has been matched by a string of successfully over-the-top odds. He arrived in Ottawa as a unknown backbencher in 1983 and, within four years, had become the youngest person ever appointed to cabinet. In 1988, he served in Prime Minister Trudeau's last cabinet in the fiercest referendum battle—and was widely credited with reviving an early sovereigntist lead and re-orienting the strategy that led to a no-vote to separation. No wonder.

In 1984, he made an unexpectedly close contact of what was supposed to be a runaway victory for John Turner during the federal leadership race. Then, says Goldenberg, "nowhere had the doubts he had had in leadership gathered." And in 1993, Chrétien was widely deemed as "yesterday's man"—before growing to be party's strong asset in government.

As to the apparent contradictions in Chrétien's character, there is ample evidence to support the existence of all those qualities. On a surface level, Chrétien spent much of his political career combatting the blueprint image of the "little guy from Stratford." In keeping with that role, he is a self-reliant, poor shouter, and takes pride in showing off the fact that he is in better physical shape than many contemporaries two decades younger. At the prime minister's retreat at Harrington Lake, one of the few places where he can find some measure of privacy, Chrétien delights in clashing the RCMP officers on security detail by racing at high speed in his jet boat, the Red October. A mark of his lack of sophistication in another area is his ingenuity with almost any form of new technology—from Walkman cassette recorders to computers. "The phone," says one friend dryly, "is a real problem for him; all other buttons are dead to us."

On another level, Chrétien has a healthy desire of peace and order: constance that many voters clearly identify with. "He is a person," says Eddie Goldenberg, "who is a lot more interested in the satisfaction of other people than in their own status." Stories of Chrétien's ingenuity and shrewdness for protocol are legion. In November 1994, during a Trans-Canada tour to Asia, the Prime Minister decided to talk to New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna about his plans to name New Brunswick native Romeo LeBlanc as the new Governor General. "He headed me out of a reception and took me up to his suite," McKenna recalls, "saying he had to talk to me at once. When we got there, Mrs. Chrétien was in the living room, sewing. So as not to bother her, we went into the bedroom and sat down on the bed, where he laid the news to me."

Chrétien's affinity with numbers is legendary, and he often resorts to word association games in order to identify people and places. When in Toronto, he and David Smith, the co-chairman of the Liberals' campaign team, often混在 an expensive French restaurant that closed last year. Chrétien could never remember the name, but always directed Smith to book a table at "the ladies' place" (it was one of the few restaurants that favored female wait staff, high kidneys, on the regular menu). He calls Fredericton MP Andy Scott "the disability guy"—because of the extreme walk Scott has done in that area. In caucus meetings, he occasionally refers to longtime Newfoundland MP George Baker as "Braggadash"—French for bluster.

But there is nothing wrong with Chrétien's memory when his own livelihood is at stake. In the summer of 1993, he took his press secretary, Patrick Turner, not far a boat ride on an old dory, the



Deonto, the inner circle respects respect—and rarer responses

Skating rink-like lake where he owns his cottage. For hours on end, Chrétien pointed at each of the dozen or so cottages along the shore, identifying the ownership name, describing a bit of the family situation, and recounting exactly how each adult was known to note formally and privately.

In public, Chrétien seldom shows his anger—but most of those who have seen flashes of it say that it is not far enough. "He is always very confrontive in caucus," says Windsor MP Shagwash Cohen. "but it is always very clear to all of us that it would be a really terrible idea if we displeased him." It is not, associates say, so much what Chrétien says in the way he says it, but lashing off each syllable while a smirky smile emanates from his blue eyes.

Once, Peter Dennis, the Prime Minister's communications director

was summoned to see Chrétien after making a mistake that caused the leader some embarrassment in public. Dennis told the Prime Minister that he accepted "full responsibility," expecting the apology to close the matter. "Congratulations," hissed a sardonic Chrétien, adding that such a gesture was no use in getting him out of the mess. But for the most part, Chrétien's anger passes quickly. During a cabinet meeting, he burst into a blustering diatribe of one missile and, while in full the toro's might, got up from the table, poured a coffee and delivered it to the still seething minister.

Chrétien says that he has many acquaintances but few friends—and is quite blunt about his opinion that politics and friendship do not usually mix. Once, during a visit to Washington in 1983 while he was still opposition leader, Chrétien began discussing his views while having a coffee with Denis, then Jean-Claude, and a reporter. "You see these two guys there," Chrétien said, pointing at Denis and Denis. "If you asked them, they would probably tell you they are my friends. But they are not. Politically, there is no room for friendship."

"The point was that a leader must sometimes make tough decisions that should not be affected by personal feelings, and the two were really taken aback. But Chrétien has often proven flexible about that rule—when it suits him. He appointed his close friend, Léblanc, as Governor General; his longtime friend Robert Nixon, the former head of the Ontario provincial Liberal party, as head of the Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. Crown corporation; and his nephew, Raymond Chrétien, as a senior diplomat, as ambassador to Washington.

Like many politicians, Chrétien has a long and unbroken memory when it comes to digits. Although there is no shortage of holdovers in his inner circle, many seem to stay from Chrétien's 1984 leadership campaign, few supporters of John Turner remain, Sartori, although Chrétien has treated Paul Martin with respect and decency whether otherwise bitter 1990 leadership race. Martin's supporters from that campaign have been of all but short out of key government positions and appointments.

Many of Chrétien's closest advisers are people he has known for at least a quarter of a century.

They include Goldenberg, Sharp—for whom Chrétien served as parliamentary secretary in 1987—chief of staff Jean Peltier, who attended his high school with Chrétien, and the man usually reckoned as his most important adviser after his wife, Alice. Montreal businessman John Rae, Others include Dennis, Colombe, Carle and policy adviser Claudio Hasek.

That loyalty isn't only about powerful emotions among old Liberals that range from respect and reverence, to far ruder responses from some backbenchers. On one level, Chrétien goes to great pains to be accessible. Within the PMO, there is no rule that any backbencher asking to see Chrétien should be given a meeting within 45 hours—even if it means cancelling other appointments. At committee hearings, cabinet ministers are instructed to speak as little as possible, and listen in the words of one MP, "Chrétien also seems to advance lists of questions at those meetings—and was beside any member absent without an explanation."

As well, with several exceptions, Chrétien has been very tolerant of MPs whose views clash with his own. One of these is Roger Galloway, a graft Ontario MP from the Sarnia area whose private member's bill banning "negative-option" cable billing can run counter to the wishes of cabinet—and was only blocked from becoming law at the last minute. That was only one of several occasions when Galloway has bluntly informed his party's official position. But each time, he says, "The Prime Minister has gone out of his way after meetings to tell everybody that he understands my position and has lots of sympathy for it." And Cohen, another outspoken Ontario MP, praises what she calls "the Prime Minister's enthusiasm for straight talk at all times from all sides."

But in spite of Chrétien's devotion to caucuses meetings—which he reportedly describes as "the most important part of my work"—his major decisions usually are based on the advice of his inner circle. In a high-stress environment that usually leads to an equally high rate of turnover, the key people within Chrétien's PMO have remained in place for unusually long periods of time. They share several qualities: they are almost all from Central Canada, almost all are from formerly bilingual and, with the exception of Howlett and Colombe, all are male. All have more frequent access to the leader than do members of the caucus—and cabinet—and the advantage of being able to speak with Chrétien regularly in small, informal gatherings. As a result, says one adviser, "we can get things done quickly and easily. But we also live in a double bubble: we work tremendously long hours alongside the same people all the time, and our regular friendly-awards from politics just touch us."

That can be both a boon and a bane—old Liberals, as well as many others, think the downside of that equation has become more evident in the past six months. You've got a real leader mentality in that office," says one On-

POSTWAR POLLS

When Prime Minister Jean Chrétien issued the call for a June 2 election last weekend, he brought to an end Canada's shortest-majority government since the Second World War, elected to office just 43 months before. Since Confederation in 1867, it had only Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1911, facing a Parliament and nation riven by the issue of free trade with the United States, went to the polls sooner, less than three years after winning a majority.

Majority Government	Election Date	Months in Office Since Last Election
LIBERALS	June 27, 1949	46
LIBERALS	Aug. 10, 1953	48
LIBERALS	June 10, 1957	46
CONSERVATIVES	June 18, 1962	46
LIBERALS	Oct. 30, 1972	52
LIBERALS	May 22, 1979	58
LIBERALS	Sept. 4, 1984	55
CONSERVATIVES	Nov. 21, 1988	45
CONSERVATIVES	Oct. 25, 1993	59
LIBERALS	June 2, 1997	43



Correct, Backup (left), Manning (right) Liberal could be best by their winning stability to switch on a strategy for national unity

Liberal MP from a rural riding. "If they didn't think of an idea, it doesn't exist. And if they did think of it, there can't possibly be anything wrong with it." Many Liberals concede that two issues have been particularly damaging for the party: the question of Quebec's constitutional future, and Chretien's mishandling of the GST. On both, many Liberal backbenchers say their views were either ignored—or, even worse, suppressed.

On the issue of Quebec, there is ample evidence to support that belief. True to the October, 1995, referendum, Chretien repeatedly told the caucus that the No side would easily win. But a prerequisite for that victory he often said, was for MPs to not tell Quebec to stay quiet on the issue, and leave the driving of the campaign to him. In the wake of the near-loss, many MPs, faced with a barrage of complaints from constituents, complained that they and other Canadians had been shut out—and the country nearly split apart as a result. But Chretien, rather than acknowledge any errors, has suggested that it was only because of his efforts that the last week of the campaign that the No-side avenged defeat.

Chretien's mishandling of his promise to make the GST "disappear" marked a singular example of his unwillingness to admit mistakes. As opposition leader, he was always wary of others by some party members to commit to abolishing the GST before a suitable alternative was found. Nevertheless, he was finally persuaded to make that promise after strong pressure from more left-wing members of the caucus. When the time finally came in early 1996 to acknowledge that the GST would not be abolished, Chretien's advisors say he could not accept the idea that he was being asked to apologize for a promise that he had never wanted to make in the first place.

The result was an embarrassing series of public appearances in which he used tortured logic to justify his belief that he had not broken a promise—and which culminated in a CBC town hall appearance last December in which he appeared alternately deferential and abusive towards questions. Even his most loyal adherents—right in the minority of the incident, one calls it "the closest thing we had to an unmitigated disaster."

Others fear that its impact still lingers. And in spite of the Prime Minister's continued high popularity ratings, there are two examples of electoral disaster that have some parallels for Chretien: one involving former U.S. president George Bush; the other the case of a Liberal prime minister from Quebec, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Some 10 years ago, in Bush's case, he enjoyed some of the highest popularity ratings in polls in America's history since a year before the election—but went down to humiliating defeat. One reason, all too familiar to Chretien



Sharp: Chretien always knew exactly what he wanted.



Wise: Alike, Aline has been lost and not heard from.

IN-HOUSE ADVISER

"My wife and I, we are very private people," Jean Chretien once observed. And privacy can mean pragmatics—and some problems. Take the occasion, shortly after the 1993 election, when the Chretiens ordered all the staff out of 24 Sussex Drive so they could have some weekend time alone. On the Sunday morning, Aline Chretien rose before her husband and went downstairs to collect the newspapers. Once outside, she did not realize the front door was self-locking until it closed behind her, leaving her stranded. Faced with either walking up her husband by ringing the bell or, in her housecoat, walking up to security personnel at the front gate, she chose, she later recounted, "to do neither." Instead, she stood patiently on the porch, reading the paper in chilly November weather, until her bewildest husband came looking for her 30 minutes later.

That is one of the rare times Chretien has been without the person who has played such a crucial role in shaping his life, his image—and many of his career decisions—since they were married almost 40 years ago. "I would not be here without her," Chretien said of Aline on election night, 1993, and as late among his friends' doubts that "She is the person he listens to more than anyone," says long-time adviser Eddie Solak瞪. Despite Aline Chretien's deliberately low profile, the Prime Minister acknowledges that she consults her on all important issues. She helped convince him to run again in John Turner in 1984, and to leave politics after he lost the leadership race. In the early 1990s, when Chretien was struggling with a Tele-Phone-Box over scripted speeches, she told him to drop them. When Chretien boasted in the House of Commons about his high popularity ratings in early 1996, he went home, he confided later, "and received absolute *le* from Aline."

Chretien's friends acknowledge that she has helped shape his now-sophisticated tastes in art and classical music. (Her collection includes paintings by Alex Colville and Henri Masson.) But her own learning process, while less noted, has been just as dramatic. When the couple arrived in Ottawa in 1965, their clothes made their small-town roots immediately obvious. She barely spoke English—daring so, she confided then, to one acquaintance, "I'm not tongue-tied." Today, her sense of style is much remastered upon, and she is fluent in English, Spanish and Italian. But due to her fondness for privacy, the Prime Minister's advisers say, Aline Chretien may occasionally be seen beside her husband in the campaign—but is unlikely to be heard from.

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COVER

BUREAU REPORT: *The Atlantic*

McDonald: looking for a breakthrough



NOT A SURE THING



The Liberals are strong but not invincible



ing surprising strength at a few rural ridings where its popular stands on gun control, crime and tax cuts strike a responsive chord.

For all that, few political observers believe—at this point, at least—that the Liberals are in serious trouble. In the Angus Reid Group/Southern News poll conducted last week, the Liberals still enjoyed the support of 42 per cent of decided voters in Atlantic Canada, compared with 26 per cent for the Conservatives, 20 per cent for the NDP and nine per cent for Reform. The big surprise in these numbers, says Angus Reid vice-president Bob Richardson, is the N.D.P.'s showing—the party was only fifth per cent of the regional popular vote in 1993. "We'll probably see a much higher N.D.P. vote this year," he says. "The question is where here does that come out?" Apart from McDonald, who may well win a seat in the body count and riding of Halifax, Richardson suggests that the N.D.P. will mostly play a spoiler role, especially in Nova Scotia, bleeding off enough Liberal votes to help some Tory candidates squeak to victory.

In fact, of the four Atlantic provinces, Nova Scotia is the one where the Liberals could be in for the roughest ride. Conservative roots are deep in the province, and party strategists are focusing on winning back a half-dozen traditional Tory seats. They are also exerting on voters vesting their anger at Prime Minister John Turner's deficit-fighting Liberal government by defining federal party candidates strong for Nova Scotia's 11 seats.

One of the most intriguing races is in the sprawling constituency of Pictou-Antigonish-Gaspéborough in northwestern Nova Scotia. The constituency incorporates parts of two old ridings both held by Liberals

Francis LeBlanc in Cape Breton-Halifax/Cape and Rosewater Stoks in Central Nova. After LeBlanc defeated Stoks—who alienated many traditional Liberals with her controversial opposition to gay rights—at a bitterly contested nomination for the new riding on March 22, the local MP hinted that she might run as an Independent candidate. At week's end, Stoks had not made her intentions known. But even if Stoks is persuaded to sit out, the Tories will be quickly wooing her former supporters, urging that a vote for their candidate, Paul MacKay—whose father, Elmer, represented Central Nova for 20 years—is the best revenge for LeBlanc's induction victory.

Similar intrigues are afoot in New Brunswick, where the Liberals control more of the province's 10 seats and are expected to retain the lion's share. Take the case of Tobique/Mactaquac, another sprawling area riding that follows the fold-of-the-Saint John River for more than 200 km, from Grand Falls in the north to the mouth of the Fredericton in the south. The riding cuts across all the fault lines of New Brunswick politics—a rural versus urban, north versus south, English versus French. The northern tip of Tobique/Mactaquac extends into barely French-speaking Madawaska County, giving the riding a 35-per-cent francophone majority. The gentle rolling farm country south of Grand Falls is predominantly English-speaking—and an area where the anti-filibuster Gaétan Courchesne of the Progressive Party are a major issue.

Both the Liberals and the Conservatives have nominated less cogent candidates from the northern part of the riding—more that may give the Reform party a real shot at electing its first Maritime MP. Reiter, which will be represented by one of two Anglophone candidates chosen at a May 3 nomination meeting, is being courted not in public by the language card. But the linguistic issues it hopes to exploit in its race are very far from the surface. "People don't sugar-cook, but they are quickly getting pretty disgruntled," says New Democrat N.B. potato farmer Bruce Johnson, the chair of the Progressive Party's campaign committee. "They just don't

Reiter McDonald was strong because 'we've been there'

feel any difference between the two old-line parties anymore."

The Liberals retain a potent force in all seven Newfoundland ridings, which they currently hold. But the Tories are expected to make a race of it at least in two instances—St. John's West and St. John's East—where high-profile former provincial cabinet ministers Charlie Power and Norm Doyle are the standard-bearers. And according to Steve Tomlin, a political scientist at Memorial University in St. John's, the Liberals could have some other rude surprises in store for them. "There are a lot of frustrated voters," he says. "They're not excited by any of the parties."

They are also marching down the road in Prince Edward Island, where Tannam still owning the financing they delivered to the province's former Liberal government last November. The Tories are expected to make a strong showing in at least two of the province's four federal seats, including the eastern riding of Charlottetown, Liberal incumbent Shirley Clancy and popular Tory MP Terry Donohoe. Pictou-Antigonish/Gaspéborough Liberal Francis LeBlanc, a slight party dragon Roseanne Stoks during the summer fight. Now, his erstwhile Nova Scotia's Mackay clan at Peter, St. John, is to follow in the footsteps of his father, former Tory cabinet minister Elmer Mackay. Tobique/Mactaquac—Richmond has a shot at gaining a foothold in New Brunswick after the Liberals and Tories put up三-way candidates in this predominantly English-speaking riding.

But annual employment insurance benefits by \$1.7 billion will year "allow us to make that decision," says Jackie Devane, a seasonal bus plant worker who helped lead a series of mass protests against the employment insurance Bill. "To survive with EI now you've got to have two jobs, and you're damned lucky if you can find one job being."

In a region where unemployment levels remain chronically high, the EI cuts and what many see as unfilled Liberal promises to cut jobs are important election issues. Other key concerns include high taxes, the languishing fisheries and growing fears about the future of Canada's health care and education systems. But the environmentalists—least in the view of the upper-tier parties—are as vocal as ever. The N.D.P.'s McDonough declares that "no part of Canada has been so harshly treated and heavily hammered by the Liberal budget of fiscal conservatism." Not quite so bad, Conservative Leader Jean Charest dismisses the Liberals' Northern Atlantic concern as "a choir that does nothing but sing loud hymns."

At the head of that choir, Bruce Hickley begs to differ. The St. John's East MP, who served as a chairwoman of the Atlantic caucus, points out that progress from the region's MP helped solve the EI bill's effect on resource and part-time workers. She also believes that Liberals can run strongly on their record of tackling the deficit and paving the way for the first ever transfer payments to needy provinces—an issue again on the rise. "I think we've got the bottom finally," she says. "Now we're going to come up."

Perhaps. But in the days leading up to the election, the replicas Liberal showed that they were not shy about improving their house with some hot cash. Last week alone, MP Paul St. John returned home to the Bay of Fundy area to dispense \$8 million towards tourism and infrastructure projects. Halifax's Mary Clancy, in a night time with Mike Douglas, handed over another \$4 million in job training grants, and Defence Minister Doug Flaman—long a champion of the Maritimes—promised in his northern New Brunswick riding of Acadia/Bathurst to announce a \$2-billion expansion of an Arctic tourist attraction. Whether voters are simply gullible—or simply applied by what appears to may be blatant park bunting—may help determine if the Liberal hegemony in the East is to continue, or crumble.

BRIAN BERGMAN in New Glasgow with DON RICHARDSON in Fredericton and DAVID BRADLEY in Charlottetown



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C O V E R

THE GAMES BEGIN

BY GENEWIX SYSTEMS

As the election campaign opened, the leaders of four of the five principal parties—all except the Bloc Québécois—were誓to sweep into Ontario this week, to begin the frantic scramble for more than one-third of the seats in the House of Commons. Politicians, pundits and pollsters agreed on two things. The battle for Ontario will determine whether Prime Minister Jean Chrétien returns with a second majority Liberal government. And if either Reform or, crucially, the Conservative Party is to replace the Bloc as the official opposition in Parliament, they will have to make real inroads in Ontario's 102 ridings.

Ontario appears to be the only region in which the Liberal, Tories, Reformers and New Democrats would all be competitive. Even opposition politicians agreed that the Liberals, who in 1993 won 96 of the province's 99 seats with 53 per cent of the popular vote, were well ahead as the campaign began. Johnson's hopes of adding to the one Ontario seat it captured in the last election suffered a setback when allegations of racism which have since damaged the party's credibility in the province again last week. First, George Rigau, the party's top campaigner in British Columbia, resigned after an accused 50th anniversary founder of engineering the takeover of several parties' nominating processes. Three days later, Reform Leader Preston Manning was seen up in the racists controversy.

The latest incident was touched off by Janice Lam, a Singapore native who is the Reform candidate in the suburban Toronto riding of Mississauga Centre. Lam was quoted in the *Toronto Sun* as saying she did not "have a problem" with the names of Bob Rae and the RBC.

MP who caused an uproar last year when he said that as a basic necessity he would fire on sight the back of the starry night black or gay employee whose presence offended his customers. Manning, however, had a problem with Bangs—he suggested him more than the Starrett cause—and he was visibly upset when reporters confront him with it. In his comments, Manning, like some other gay rights advocates, is concerned by the quality of all Canadians.—W.E., made this clear when he first sat down. He suggested, at reporter's insistence, that they begin with "You want to know in which battle you can do that, but we have no intention to fight."

Reform's woes are not good news to many Liberal candidates in Ontario who are counting on their Liberal opponents to run strongly enough to split the right-of-centre vote and prevent a resurgence of the Tories. Liberals believe that anything that helps Reform, within reason, helps them, while anything that hurts Reform's chances helps the other opposition parties. *Montreal Gazette*

Although there are major anomalies to be won or lost in Ontario, other regions may produce more dramatic voting shifts. A poll by the broadcaster by the CBC's Television network shows a significant gain in popular support for Quebec at the expense of the Bloc, support largely unchanged. As Leader Jean Charest is increasingly seen as a moderate, the Bloc's new leader, Lucien Bouchard—argued Bégin could lose some of his 50 seats. Bouchard, now Quebec's principal lead role in the federal campaign

the 1995 Quebec referendum could also produce some surprises. Poll has the Conservatives regaining that province, too—that fine at the prospect of a number of close races in Alberta.

support in that province, too—this time at the expense of Reform—raising the prospect of a number of close, three-way Reform-Tory-Liberal races in Alberta.

All major polls, however, were showing the Liberals with a massive lead nationally as the campaign began. For example, an *America's News Poll*, published late last week, put the Liberals at 42 per cent to 38 for the Tories, 16 for Reform, 11 for the Bloc and 11 for the NDP. If nothing changes, the Liberals could expect to win a majority in large or possibly larger than in 1993 when they won 171 seats with 31 per cent of the popular vote. But elections are seldom static. A party that enters the race with a commanding lead usually slips back as its opponents gain exposure and attract new voting voters. The leaders' television debate, scheduled for May 12 and 13, could shift the course of the race in an unpredictable direction. The question, however, remains: how much ground can the opposition leaders and their candidates make up in just three days? Canada's shortest-ever federal election campaign?



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DIVIDED AND DISTRUSTFUL

Many voters are deeply frustrated by politicians

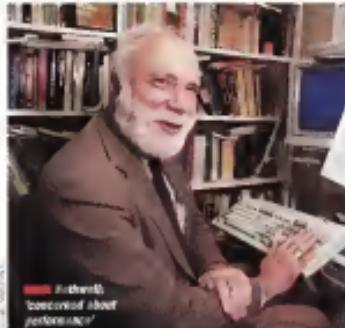
If the Liberals assume they are about to encounter a docile electorate, they should think again. During the campaign, Maclean's will sample the views of special panels of undecided voters in five ridings across the country—and if last week's initial results are any indication, voters are deeply disillusioned with the political system and, in fact, with all parties. The debate is fractured along regional lines. As Quebecers continue to worry about unemployment and, to a lesser degree, the same issue, Ontarians were more preoccupied by the question of political competence, while the federalists still focus largely in the West.

This weekly snapshot of the campaign's progress, Maclean's will draw on the opinions of at least 12 voters in each of the five ridings. A political scientist or other expert commentator will oversee the project in each riding and provide informed analysis as the election unfolds.

HALIFAX The traditional left-right riding pits Liberal MP Mary Clancy against NDP Leader Alexa McDonough. But Tory Terry Denault, a former provincial cabinet minister, and Reformer Stephen Guscott, a former aide to Preston Manning, add to the political brew. Panelist **Dawn Slaven**, 59, who works in computer-generated designs, acknowledges that she has not been overly happy with Clancy's performance. But, she adds, "nobody's altered anything better—I want to hear what the problems are before I decide." According to commentator **Steven Bamford**, dean of journalism at King's College, that sense of frustration is widespread. "There is a feeling that you vote for someone on the basis of what they say and what you get is quite different," he notes. "People's concerns are economic."

BROSSARD/LAPRAIRIE The rapidly growing, mostly francophone suburban riding on Quebec's South Shore traditionally voted Liberal but elected Conservatives during both of Brian Mulroney's governments. In 1993, it was captured by the Bloc with a margin of fewer than 500 votes. Voters must decide between Bloc newcomer **Franscisco Belanger**, a communications consultant, Liberal Jacques Saade, a business consultant, and the Tories' **Pauline Marois**. One panelist, name **Lorraine Hamelin**, says she supported the Bloc in 1993 but is now considering the Tories—legally because of Jean Charest's ideas for creating jobs and lowering taxes. "Christian comes from Quebec, but I feel that he betrayed us," says Marois, 48. "He hasn't done much." Commentator **Ron Label**, a long-time national affairs journalist, says such views are common in Quebec. "The economy is in shambles," he notes. "And Charest remains unpopular with francophones. They think he is always picking fights with Quebec and that he is too rigid."

ST. PAUL'S This central-Toronto riding is solidly middle class—and a traditional swing riding. With the Liberals' recent not-seeking re-election, new candidate **Careylyn Bennett**, a doctor, is expected to face strong opposition from Conservative Peter Atkins, son of Senator Norman Atkins. But panel member **Marc Shorin**, 26, an economic policy analyst, says none of the parties offers what he is



John Richards
"Concerned about
performance"

looking for—vision. "We have to make key investments in the future—I don't see any of the parties doing this," he says. Commentator **Robert Baldwin**, professor of history at the University of Toronto, believes many people in the riding share similar concerns about the competence of politicians. "There doesn't seem to be one strong issue," he says. "People are concerned about performance they are not so confident of Charest as they were a year ago."

CALGARY WEST This affluent urban riding typically voted Tory until 1993 when it elected Reformer Stephen Harper. It has been vacuous since then, split policies and splits, thus year, between two rookie Reformers Robert Anders, Tory Sean Sceriffield from a prominent local business family, and Liberal David Brewster, a measured politician. "For me, the big issues are taxes and that deficit," says panelist **Barbara Cooper**, a laboratory technician in the oil "I vote mostly according to person." And that, says commentator **Keith Archer**, professor of political science at the University of Calgary, mirrors the views of others in the riding. "I see this as a contest between personalities," he says. "Western has lost a fair bit of its share in the West—it is a tight three-way race."

PORT MOODY/COQUITLAM The mostly suburban riding on the outskirts of Vancouver has traditionally been NDP territory. But Reformer Sharon Hayes narrowly won it in 1993. This year, she will face New Democrat Jay Lagaag, a former MP; and Liberal **Beverly Pech**. Panelist **Lowrance Watson**, 68, a technician for BC Tel, says all levels of government are inefficient. "Canadians are overtaxed, yet the deficit is not significantly reduced," he says. "The misuse of tax dollars is a major problem—governments need to be run better." Commentator **John Richards**, professor of business at Simon Fraser University, says many voters are dismasted from the electoral process. "People do not seem to be engaged at this point," he adds. "There is no overriding issue, and a sense that the result is foregone. But support for the Liberals is shallow."

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HITTING THE RIGHT TARGET

Meet Brad Parquier. Geeky, computer geek—and the new face of Canadian political warfare. At 27, the Reform party's director of technical operations has taken a press on stumping, lawn signs, handing out arrows, releases or dictating a campaign bus. His battlefield is cyberspace, where he is campaigning to make Preston Manning and company the party in charge. The Parquier-designed Reform Internet Web site has won industry awards for innovation. On a recent day, it attracted 5,354 visitors—an instant day over—who were curious about Reform's election platform. In the weeks ahead, Net users will even be able to chat online with Manning himself. The leaders are planning extensive touring and in-store book signings, the mucky of it outside the polling booth even lies on. But at the dawn of the new millennium, running an election campaign in Canada owes as much to high-tech as to low cunning. Now, there is an innumerable flood of electronic information, making it feasible politicians anxious to record every voter reaction to the swirl of rhetoric. In a few brief years, the science of campaigning has undergone a startling transformation.

But even with the army of new weapons at their disposal, in a short campaign a party has to start fast and hit the right target. The governing Liberals want to "win back their traditional supporters—women, low-income workers, immigrants, youth and seniors"—while holding onto high-income male voters who supported them in 1993. The New Democrats, on the other hand, are bent on winning over disaffected former Progressive Liberals. But pollsters and political operatives agree that Election 1997 will centre on the battle for the frustrated middle class. Labelled everything from "HOI guys" to "HOI voters" (in reference to the telethon's acerbic把bedroom commentaries around Toronto), these stress-out, economically stretched suburbanites constitute what could be the pivotal slice of the vote. "I've never seen such a wide-open electorate as today," maintains Reform campaign director Rick Anderson, whose party, along with the Tories, has been focusing the most attention on this group. Echoes David Smith, co-chair of the Liberal campaign: "The big difference today is that the voters are much more open to the arguments of all parties."

Never before have campaign pitches been so precisely tailored to the electorate's wishes. Regimes of polling data have already gone into forging election platforms. But that was just a dress rehearsal for the main event. Computerization means that a phalanx of empirics working the phones can take an extensive sample of 1,000 Canadians in a single evening, thus giving the information to polling professionals in digest and analysis by morning. Naturally, each party conducts "rolling polling"—in essence, a constant checking of the public pulse, which is always dropping older data and adding new information to determine how voter attitudes are evolving. Spot polling is also routinely conducted in special swing



Reform's Parquier: transforming the science of campaigning

ridings, which tend to narrow the overall ebb and flow of the campaign page. Focus groups—voters who agree to be interviewed at length, often while candidates which look below one-way mirrors—serve the same purpose. Yet a party is more dependent on this approach than Reform, which will in daily sessions to determine how its message and those of other parties are playing with voters. Whatever the method, though, the sharpness of the campaign means there is no margin for error. "You cannot afford to be had up on," observes Michael Morawetz, the cigar-smoking Liberal politico. "You have to be dead on."

How the parties use their accumulated knowledge is up to the handful of trusted operators in the war room—the brains of any modern campaign. They shape daily strategy. They watch the press and the other parties. They decide where the leader goes and much of what the leader says—and conduct damage control in the event of a gaffe. And they make split-second decisions on how to capitalize on the other side's mistakes. For the parties, the big campaign time Day 8 when they are allowed to launch their final media campaigns. What about the message? Each camp has promised an issue-oriented campaign. But everyone admits that it could get down and dirty.

Cash strapped as they are, political campaigns have to be pragmatic in 1997. That fact alone guarantees that the leaders' campaign will have a different rhythm this time around. Tony Leader (John Clark) is set to likely to make few stops in British Columbia, where Conservative prospects are slim. The same is true for Alex McDonald in right-wing Alberta and Manning in Quebec, while Hoc Québecois Leader Gilles Duceppe will not venture outside his home province. The brevity of the race means that parties have to focus on winnable seats, even if they maintain they are running national campaigns. Research and technology are wonderful tools but politics in Canada, at its most fundamental level, is still about a man or woman trying to connect with flesh-and-blood voters.

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Stones from a water wall, provincial officials declared a state of emergency as neighbors worked together to shore up defenses.

'THE FLOOD OF THE CENTURY'

Manitobans flee the surging waters of the angry Red River

BY JAKE MACDONALD

Inked of the liaison yelping of migrating geese, the first light of April 23 brought the ominous thumping of icebergs to the skies over Morris. At mid-morning, a caravan of armored personnel carriers rumbled into the empty streets of the small Manitoba town, 40 km north of the U.S. border. Fifty soldiers climbed out and began unloading their equipment. For the indefinite future, the school will be their new command post and Headquarters. The enemy, just beyond a four-metre-high dike of bulldozed earth surrounding the nest, modern neigh-

bhood, is a sea of floodwater extending all the way to the southern horizon. At 5 a.m., school principal Ross Murrison awoke to an red alarm wailing up and down the Red River valley after provincial officials declared a state of emergency and ordered the valley's 17,000 residents to leave their homes. "We knew this was coming, so yesterday the kids helped the teachers and we moved a lot of stuff up to the mezzanine floor," Murrison said as he packed up computers in the deserted school. "The kids have really been great. A lot of them have sore muscles from sandbagging,

but this is their school, and they don't want to lose it."

Loss was on the minds of many Manitobans last week as the angry Red continued to rise. With the floodwaters already covering an area of 2,000 square km—about one-third the size of Prince Edward Island—authorities also ordered the evacuation of some homes in the provincial capital of Winnipeg, another 85 km north of Morris. One home in the south end of the city was flooded because of an inadequate dike—a case, authorities said, of "too little, too late on the part of the homeowner." The warning was not lost on others who,



PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

TIME OUT MAY 4, 1997 21



**Defenders
at the
front lines:
fighting a
new enemy**

CANADA

aided by about 2,000 Canadian Forces troops, feverishly worked to shore up their defenses against the rampaging waters. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, launched a national flood relief effort, with various media organizations providing free information. And at weeks end, Prime Minister Jean Chretien arrived in the province to tour the stricken areas—and praise the efforts of Manitobans. "Every body's pullin' in the same direction," he said, "and people all across Canada want to help."

Teachers at the Morris school gave each student a "homework bag" for the night or longer that the school is likely to be closed. "Our students are scattering to the four winds," said Morrison. "They're going to Sudbukewan, Ontario; Winnipeg—anywhere that it's dry." A wise precaution, given the uncertainty of the disaster facing the province. Estimates of the damage the river could wreak—and of the fact that the want was yet to come—were evident in the procession of vehicles that maneuvered through snow, trudging caustically through the sheet of water flowing over Highway 25. Some had North Dakota plates, and carried refugees from the disaster at Grand Forks. On Friday, April 18, the Red River crested at the city of 48,000, 120 km south of the border, punching through the protective dikes and submerging the entire community to a depth of 4.5 m of ice-chilled water—the highest recorded flood in Grand Forks history. The next day, the floodwaters ruptured gas lines in the town's historic downtown business district and started a night-long firestorm that, in spite of the water, destroyed a building and severely damaged another.

By the morning of April 20, downtown Grand Forks looked like the aftermath of an incendiary bombing, and it was a scene that haunted many Manitobans as the flood crest rolled northward. Provincial officials said it was likely to cross the Manitoba border early that week, but Morris on April 23 and likely arrive in Winnipeg on May 1. And they continued to upgrade their estimates of the probable scale of the deluge. "We can't rely on historic data," said provincial flood control chief Larry Whitney, "because we simply don't have any for a flood of this

size." Forecasts were further complicated by the record breaking blizzard of early April, which, after an already hard winter, dumped an additional 50 cm of snow on southern Manitoba—just before the spring thaw. "The largest flood of the century was in 1890," said Whitney, "it covered a lake of about 1,000 square km. This one will be about three times that size."

Blasted by the Red, Winnipeg is putting its faith in the Red River Floodway, a 62-km-long channel built to divert floodwater around the city. Night after night, the flood of rotor blades and the roar of high explosives disturbed the sleep of numerous residents as heli-copter crews dropped charges into the river at the mouth of the Floodway, trying to break ice jams clogging the surface. And at 10 p.m. on April 21, in a huge spring rain, just above the emergency, former engineer Goff Babbitt walked into the system's control room and sounded the last siren that warns Winnipeggers that the Floodway is about to open.

Now regarded as a folk hero in Manitoba, Babbitt grabbed his political clout on the construction of the \$65-million Floodway, completed in 1985. Last week, pressing a button on the control panel, he lifted a pair of enormous diversion boulders under the river—and sent 36,000 cubic feet of water per second into the Floodway. "I'd never been in the control room before—believe it or not," Babbitt later said. "Premier Gary Filmon felt that I should have the honor of opening the Floodway, and I mean say that it was quite a thrill."

City officials say that if the Floodway fails, it will probably save Winnipeg from an estimated \$1 billion in damages in the coming flood. But the city is still unlikely to escape unscathed, while smaller towns like Morris have no such protection and sit right in the path of the oncoming flood. Morris is, however, encircled by a wide car-free area, a permanent structure of better quality than the sandbag filters that failed at Grand Forks. But after watching television footage of that disaster, Manitobans in general appear less confident that they had been a week ago. As young employees at downtown Morris's K&K grocery store lowly packed up their contents last week, manager Stan Duerck made arrangements



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CANADA



Packing up a store's inventory in Morris: you're not going to believe what's coming

apace to send his meat and dairy products back to the supplier. "We've got a lot of faith in our own dairy," he says. "But we keep getting the same message from people coming up here from the United States: 'You're not going to believe what's coming.'"

At an impromptu press conference on the edge of town, portentously engaged, Fed Ranger helicopters stood by for possible emergency calls. Nesting in an olive backdrop a few iron trees, 100 km north of Wanigan, more accustomed to fighting forest fires than floods, looked over the imitable Zodobowin flat that had been devoured by the east wind. In the cowshed hallways of the (nameless) officer down the street, three RCMP officers, Natural Resources officials and town residents milled about, conducting hasty discussions and telephone conversations in the smoky, deliberately formal manner of people stretched to the limit. "Nobody has slept much," said local farmer Dennis Bertrand. "Everybody is racing against the arrival of the water."

Southern Manitoba is known for its "Red River gambit"—rich black soil that produces some of the best crops in the world. But the same dirt that deposited the soil is now striking at those who till it. After machinery is forced into the ground and still covered with snow, said Bertrand, "you can't pull the equipment out if you try to tear it apart. So it'll be flooded, and after it's over a set of learners will have a hard time getting their seedling done. This is going to put a dent in Canada's grain production that year." For some farmers, a price is already being exacted. A few kilometers outside Morris, Henry Stevens sat his 10,000 laying chickens in the slaughterhouse rather than scrin-

dge them to the flood—losing about \$20,000 in North Dakota, an estimated 200,000 livestock drowned, and are presently floating downstream into Canada.

In the open fields to the west of Morris that were a wet, flooded, large marsh of white-tailed deer pasture in broad daylight, displaced by the overwhelming Bell. And on Harvey and Edna Dreyer's farm, just up the road from the Stevens place, a pair of exuberant latrine wreathed in the grass, unaware of the silent water creeping up through the woods. Like most of the farms in the Morris district, the Dreyer farm is a two-story operation, a log barn surrounded by modern buildings and well-tended gardens. Like most of the area's stubbornly self-sufficient farmers, the Dreyers have no intention of leaving. "I'm staying right here," said Edna, aged 64. "The men are working hard and they need someone to take care of them when I cook and take phone messages and help with the sandwiches."

Harvey Dreyer has worked the land since 1954. For 27 years, Edna has been a kindergarten teacher at the Morris school. Last week, she made a last-minute trip in the darkness to retrieve a few precious things. Outside, the energetic, exuberant hallway echoed with the bristle click of her heels. "They say that if the dike fails the water will come up to the ceiling," she said with a catch in her voice. "It's just too hard to believe." Gathering some pointed flowers in her arms, she took one last look around her lavender room—the inverted chairs, the finger-painted walls—then headed for the east. Capt. Patrick Tolmach of the Royal Canadian Regiment held the door for her. "It's the changing of the guard," she told him. "Take good care of our school!" □

Canada NOTES

MEGA-LAW

Ontario MPPs voted 72 to 42 in favor of a bill that will merge Toronto and five neighboring municipalities into one city of 2.5-million people. The majority to be called Toronto, will be governed by a 51-member council. The merger will take effect next January. Opposition members first stalled the bill by tabling 12,500 amendments that upped the legislature for 10 days.

PROTECTING CULTURE

A Senate communications subcommittee reported that Canada's foreign trading partners will increasingly attack its policies on culture and broadcasting as protectionist. "If Canada wishes to increase its exports of services and products in the communications sector, it will have to open its domestic market to foreign services and products," the report says. "If this trade-off is accepted as necessary, Canada must review its existing policies and regulations."

BACK ON THE AIR

After five weeks of silence, CKUA, Alberta's state-owned public broadcaster, returned to the airwaves. Volunteers will run the station for its first month. Afterwards, an interim board of directors is to decide how many staff directorships can afford to hire. The previous board laid off about 50 staff and closed the rate-bankrupt station.

HOSPITAL CUTS

Alberta's regional health board said the city's 66 hospitals and clinics will be asked to slice \$165 million from their \$2.1-billion budget in the coming year. These cuts are on top of the \$63 million in government cutbacks levied since 1995. As of July, 3,000 health-care workers out of some 60,000 will be asked to take early retirement; about 4,000 have already done so over the past two years. The health board said it had to make the new cuts after it analyzed Quibell's 1997-1998 budget estimates.

CHILDREN'S AID

Saskatchewan's NDP government introduced legislation designed to increase benefits for nearly 9,000 children in low-income families. The province expects to triple the number of children covered and raises to an annual \$3,500, bringing the program's budget to almost \$9 million,



The Kime family is led to their vehicle after a shooting and murder incident.

A series of cruel deaths

In Willowdale, Ont., hundreds of mourners paid their last respects to Helen Kime, 36, and her four children. Linda, 15, Christopher, 14, Stacy, 12 and Nancy, 11. Police say all four were gunned down by Kime's estranged husband, Laddie, 39, on April 23. The couple had been married for 16 years and had recently separated. Laddie killed his family with

him. Then, the next day in Pointe-aux-Brois, Del., Mark West, 45, shot to death his 66-year-old estranged wife, Margaret, on the front steps of her home. He then went to a nearby residence and killed another friend, Grace Marie, 65, before shooting himself. The relationship between the Wests and Maries was not immediately revealed by police.

JUSTICE

An Airbus appeal

The federal justice department is not giving up, at least in the case of Parkinson's Schneider. In July, the Federal Court of Canada ruled that Ottawa's efforts to void the act of Sedis and his team in the investigation of Schneider's slayings in the Airbus affair were unconstitutional. But last week, the justice department asked the Supreme Court of Canada to hear its appeal of the lower court decision. There is more at stake than the investigation of alleged kickbacks in the \$1.8-billion to \$688 side of Airbus jets to Air Canada. The Federal Court noted that Ottawa's request to the Swiss for help inesslering Schneider's bank accounts violated the Constitution's guarantees against unreasonable search and seizure. If upheld, federal lawyers said, that decision would require "prior judicial approval of most requests for assistance"—and could compromise hundreds of investigations.

Alberta gives some back

Alberta Premier Ralph Klein loosened the public purse strings last week when his Conservative government presented its first budget since being re-elected on March 11. Assessing the cash outlays was an additional \$20 million for transplant surgery and kidney dialysis—designed to reduce hospital waiting times. "We have been able to proceed with this targeted increase only because we have been fiscally responsible," Health Minister Harvey Jones said. Overall, total spending on health for 1997-1998 will rise to \$33.96 billion, up 3.8 per cent from last year. Treasurer Stockwell Day emphasized that the budget forecast is for a \$54-million surplus this year—with no tax increases—on revenues of \$34 billion. The last budget's surplus was \$2.25 billion, and next year the surplus could rise to \$7.74 million should oil and gas prices perform as expected. The financial good news had MLAs talking about an eventual oil bonanza, even as a cash dividend paid out over the province's accumulated debt of \$35 billion has been eliminated by 2005. Alberta already has the lowest taxes in the country. The province's officials will also get a say in the debate over raising Alberta's revenue prosperity. This week, Klein will culminate in a September summit of business leaders, government officials and others.

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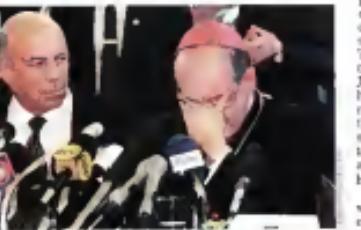
World

Rescue in Lima

A bold assault sends a message to terrorists

Anthony Vincent, Canada's lanky ambassador to Peru, thought rebel leader Nicanor Correa seemed disoriented. Still, he urged Corpsa once again to give up the 72 hostages that his 13 Tupac Amaru fighters had held in the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima since Dec. 17. As they talked, eight young rebels dressed in the brightly colored T-shirts of their favorite soccer team began to stick a makeshift hall of tape and cloth around the building's massive tile floor. With the scene in its fifth month, their game had become a daily ritual to relieve the boredom and grinding tension. As they played, other rebels leaned over a second-floor balcony to watch. Unknown to any of them, Peruvian commandos had tunneled under the building and placed powerful plastic explosives directly under the players' feet. As he left, Vincent literally walked over the heads of heavily armed soldiers who were jostling for the tunnels, waiting to attack Corpsa and his followers. "Hosto flags" were the very last words I said to them, "the ambassador recalled last week. They looked quite preoccupied."

Perhaps the rebels sensed the end was coming. Two hours later, at



Vincent with weeping Corpsa after told, 'They were quite young.'

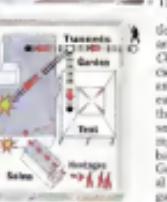
approximately 8:35 p.m., President Alberto Fujimori finally gave the signal that keyed-up soldiers had been training for weeks to expect. The explosions were triggered in a massive explosion that killed scores of the rebels and wounded Corpsa, who died out. "We're screwed, we're screwed." Hundreds of soldiers swarmed into the building and an interior garden from the blown-out tunnels. Others smashed through the front door and lobbed tear gas through a side window.

Smoke pours from Japanese residence during operation, troops find hostages out high-tech gadgetry

In a hall of bullet and hand grenades, they cut down almost all the guerrillas, including two young females who reportedly begged for mercy. Some soldiers and another insurgent who was captured was quickly taken away and shot, although Fujimori later denied it. The shocked rebels still managed to kill two soldiers and wound Supreme Court Justice Carlos Grana, who died later of a heart attack in hospital. But in just 15 minutes, the commandos wiped out all 14 guerrillas and rescued all of the hostages, whom they left from the surrounding compound. The soldiers weren't finished. To send a grim message to other would-be terrorists, they beat over each of their dead or wounded opponents and shot them in the head. When Fujimori was sent minutes later, he bluntly declared: "The rebels have been annihilated."

Fujimori, wearing a black bullet-proof vest over his signature white shirt, toured the shattered compound like a conquering general. An American television around the world, he stopped over the rebels' bodies, knelt over bodies to shake hands with his executioners. As they gathered around him, they grabbed his hands into the air and broke into a spontaneous version of the national anthem. We're free, and we will be forever.

The tough guy probably had good reason to celebrate. He had spent his seven years in office battling criminals, drug traffickers and an economic collapse with a ferocious resolve, and before the Tupacs had appeared he appeared to be winning. Hundreds of rebels had been arrested. Foreign investment was increasing. The rebel attack,



brought the United States closer after the crisis began.

Sunday, April 20, proved to be a crucial day. A poll showed that majority approved Fujimori's fast-thinking, hurt-by-charge that his intelligence service used torture. He fired his interior minister and named a hardline general to replace him. And Vincent reported that Corpsa was now saying he would cut back on the hostages' medical rights—arguably a threat to the well-being, which Fujimori had said would justify using force. Before the day ended, Fujimori had sent 140 crack soldiers into five reinforced tunnels that had been dug under the ambassador's residence.

But the technology was essential. Fujimori later said the precise moment of the assault was not determined until the eavesdropping devices alerted the soldiers to exactly where the Tupac rebels and hostages were located in the building. "We was in permanent contact with the intelligence service," said Fujimori. "We knew perfectly the location of terrorists and the majority of the hostages."

On Tuesday afternoon, he gave the signal to set off the explosives and begin the assault. Corpsa, who was injured in the attack, still lived



however, shattered Peru's newfound confidence. Now, with his dramatic victory behind him, political analysts say Fujimori will be able to continue his sweeping economic and political reforms. "By this one very audacious action," said Max Corrales, a political scientist and expert on Peruvian Carlton University, "he restored his image of strength."

Fujimori's "crisis of embarrasement" began without warning on Dec. 17, when the Tupac Amaru rebels—named for an 18th-century native who led an uprising against the Spanish—ailed the political embassy's residence during a party marking the Japanese emperor's birthday. The rebels blew a hole in the back of the building while white-clad waiters, who had been pouring champagne, suddenly produced automatic weapons and ordered 450 guests to lie on the floor. The rebels had captured dozens of important diplomats and business leaders, including ambassador Vincent and his wife, Lucy.

Hours later, the guerrillas released about 80 women. The following day, Fujimori was freed along with the ambassadors of Greece and Germany with orders from Corpsa to help negotiate the release of 450 imprisoned Tupac fighters. Over the next few weeks, most of the other hostages were let go. Those left behind were mainly Peruvian government and military officials and 20 Japanese nationals. Yet as Fujimori steadily refused to give up the Tupac prisoners, the mood among the captives grew darker. "The situation got more tense as days went on," Vincent told *Newsweek*. "They never knew when they went to sleep if they would wake up alive. They were reminded of that of their existence."

As Vincent and his fellow ambassadors shuddered in and out of the compound, government anti-terror experts secretly launched operation Chanta o Muerte—a plan taken from an ancient Peruvian culture meaning "Special energy and Reuse." They deployed a ring of high-tech eavesdropping equipment in houses surrounding the compound. Other long listening devices were strung right to the hostages, one placed in the laundry of a religious amateur who was sent to her house to gather seem like a saint. Retired general Gaston Tanaka, who helped set up Peru's National Intelligence Service in the early 1980s, and the gadgetry was part of \$40 million worth of sophisticated intelligence equipment that the military

United States gave after the crisis began.

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WORLD

to draw himself to the second floor of the residence, where most of the hostages had been held since the rebels first found that tunnels were being built. But before he could reach the captures, troops gunned him down.

One of the hostages, Bolivian ambassador Jorge Gómez, said they knew an assault was imminent because they had been secretly warned to expect it if they heard the Peruvian army's anthem being played on two consecutive days from government loudspeakers blaring outside the compound. It was played on Monday morning and again on the day of the attack. Shortly before the assault, another warning message was relayed to a Peruvian admiral who had kept a small radio receiver hidden from the rebels through all his time in captivity.

Even so, Luis Chong Chang, one of five Peruvians congressional held by the rebels, said most of the hostages were initially off guard. "I was playing a game of chess when the assault began," Chong told *Newsweek*. "We heard the blasts and immediately knew that we had to head towards the door that leads to the garden." As he fled, he wondered if his fellow hostages would make it out alive. "It was the 25th or 26th hostage to be taken out," he said. "I was worried sick that my friends could be dying."

Canadian Vincent was also taken by surprise. Arriving at the Canadian embassy, he took an urgent call from his wife. "She was frantic," he said, "because she had seen the beginning of the interview on television and she thought I might still be in the resistance." Vincent said the lives lost in the action had to be balanced against Peru's bloody history of violent attacks. "I think the terrorist

THE 'JAPANESE TORPEDO'

Akiro Fujimori attracts dramatic labels. After he was first elected Peru's president in 1990, the son of Japanese immigrants became known as the "Japanese torpedo" for his zeal in attacking the country's grave problems. His program to stop runaway inflation by drastically cutting subsidies was dubbed "Fujibomb." Every bold initiative is reportedly called a presidential "torpedo," or just now. And in the wake of his triumph last week in the Tupac Amaru hostage drama, Peru's money-makers will no doubt produce a sleeky new nickname to replace the fond, if inaccurate, "El Chino" (the Chinese guy). He critics

are already calling him "Rimbo."

Fujimori prefers "sumo," but the 58-year-old president once seemed an unlikely warrior. He was born in Lima four years after his parents returned from Japan. The couple, who operated a tire repair shop, tried to integrate him into their adopted country by raising him as a Roman Catholic. By the mid-1970s, he had settled into a quiet career as a novelist, becoming rector of the National Agrarian University in Lima. So political analysts were somewhat amazed when the bearded spectacled mathematician and sometime TV talk show host launched his presidential bid under the banner "Change is

revolution," he said. "I could understand the military and bureaucrats—the more authoritarian feature of the Peruvian political system."

The international community, however, was quick to back Fujimori. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien said that while the violence was unfortunate, the government had a "responsibility to act." Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto said it was encouraging that Japan, which had earlier called for a peaceful resolution, was not informed in advance. But he added: "How can I criticize [Fujimori]? He successfully rescued the hostages."

Whether the victory over the rebels has finally put an end to guerrilla attacks in Peru is open to question. A Tupac spokesman

Fujimori after raid
an unlikely
warrior



1990"—an alliance of small businessmen, peasants and shantytown dwellers. "My relatives didn't believe in me," Fujimori later recalled. "They thought I was crazy."

But his slogan, "Work, honesty and technology," struck a chord with voters angry over chronic economic problems and a fierce insurgency. Fujimori astonished everyone by beating world-renowned novelist Mario Vargas Llosa in a runoff election. "Peruvians," he declared, "are fed up with being fed up."

Then came the turnaround. After only eight days in office, he turned his attention to government corruption and the Marxist guerrillas. Backed by the army, he dissolved Congress in 1992 and fired nearly 100 judges—leaving himself with near dictatorial powers. Peruvians called it the "self-coup." With civil rights curtailed, thousands of rebels—and many innocent civilians—

were arrested. But the back of the insurgency were arrested, broken when Abimael Guzman, leader of the extremist Shining Path, and Tupac cíhief Victor Polay were captured.

As stability returned, and the economy picked up, Fujimori easily won a second term in 1995, beating former UN secretary general Javier Pérez de Cuellar. But his popularity ebbed as the economy slowed and human rights groups catalogued him over the treatment of imprisoned rebels. Then came the "Tupac raid on the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima—a massive loss of face. Peruvians, however, have long since learned not to count out El Chino. His high-stakes confrontation last week sent his approval ratings soaring again. As he sets his sights on a third term in office, his nickname may become El Apostador—The Gambler.

TOM PENNELL



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By Andrew Phillips

The English-only debate

To the extent that Canadian pragmatism on the consequences of Americanization—which is not much at all—is mainly just a pretty nice place. Politic folks, government social services, good debating—that's about it. So it's a bit of a shock to find that in some quarters Canada is held out as a warning of the road not to take. The plush Washington offices of U.S. English, the largest lobby group dedicated to making English the official language of the United States, are one such place. On our visit, though, a framed copy of a magazine ad showing North America fragmenting, with Quebec breaking off in one direction, Texas in another, "It can't happen here or can it?" it reads ominously, with the explanation that official bilingualism in Canada has meant "billions" of wasted tax dollars, slower growth and "a populace literally divided on the issue." The message is clear: language means trouble.

The United States has many problems but language, it would seem, is not one of them. Current figures show that 97 percent of Americans over the age of 5 are fluent in English, and most people would agree that speaking English is one of those things, like a love of cars and an aversion to government, that unites Americans. But look again. Just below the surface, language is a hot issue. The United States is experiencing its biggest wave of immigration since the turn of the century; 32 million Americans speak a language other than English at home, and survey shows more and more people expressing frustration that they just can't make themselves understood when they take a cab or enter a larger Twenty-first-century states—from California through much of the West to the entire South—have adopted laws declaring English their official language. The House of Representatives passed such a law last August by 258 votes to 180. Speaker Newt Gingrich declared that "without English as a common language, there is no [American] civilization." The Senate did not vote on the

bill, but it has been reintroduced into the new session of both houses of Congress. U.S. English has ridden that wave, and helped to create (as well) it. It is led by a per sonable and energetic architect, 35-year-old Marisa Majlis, who may be the perfect person to sell the message. Majlis came to the United States from Chile as a 25-year-old student. He had to learn English to succeed in America, and as a Hispanic he can hardly be accused of bias against the country's

Just below America's surface, language is a hot issue

Majlis: *"Aren't you half-breed?"*



biggest non-English-speaking group. Majlis presides over a classic American voice, the marketing job. "We're a multiethnic and society," she says, "but there are more and more forces trying us apart. We're trying to preserve the melting pot ideal wherever you come from, you just a common language with a common language—English." Those who want the government to promote their Spanish heritage at the expense of English, he says, are endangering their children to be babies and grandbabies. In America, English is the language of language of success.

The organization has grown quickly since Majlis took over as chairman in 1993. Founded 10 years earlier by S.I. Blaylock, the last senator from California who was born in Vancouver of Japanese parents, U.S. English ran into controversy in the late 1980s. Some leaders complained publicly that Hispanics were flooding too fast, the Soviets were accused of racism, and the group was discredited. When Majlis took over, she had just 365,000 members. Now, close to 20 million, that's a million plus

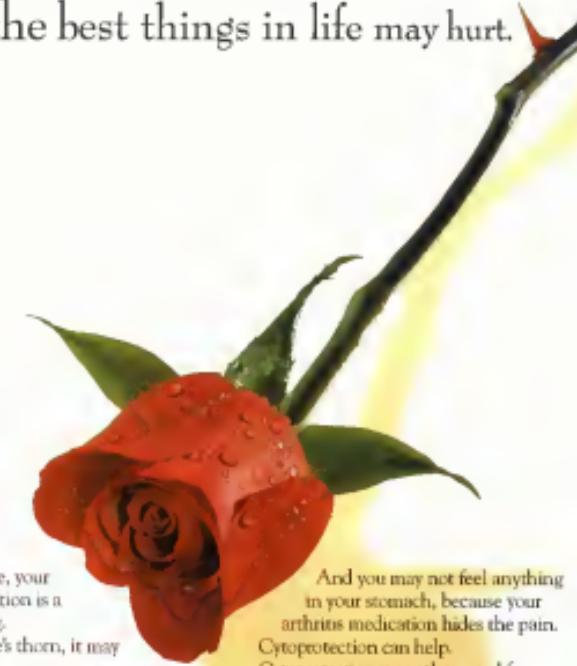
members, with a Washington staff of 15 and a budget of \$15 million a year. "I wanted to make it professional, and fight this fight. We didn't," Majlis says.

The result is a well-funded campaign that pushes the issue both in Washington and around the country. U.S. English wants to reduce the scope of bilingual education and put the emphasis instead on teaching English to new immigrants. And it warns that new efforts to win statehood for Puerto Rico, where 70 percent of the population speaks only Spanish, could result in the United States snatching what Majlis calls "our own balding Quaker." "For the most part, though, official English advocates are sufficiently knowledgeable—and polite—to argue that Canada's language situation is not comparable to that south of the border. Spaniards are not the majority in my state; there is no Hispanic Legion pushing separation."

In the end, critics often write off the official English movement as a reactionary throwback, even a cover for naked anti-immigrant racism. And it is true that a smaller rival group to U.S. English, called English First, has links to the extreme right. But it's hard to see U.S. English with its broad advisory board includes such luminaries as novelist Saul Bellow and broadcaster Alastair Cooke. The bigger question is what the real impact of official English might be. State laws vary widely, some more or less English symbolic status given to the state bird or flower, while others forbid the use of other languages on such documents as driver's licenses or voter ballots. The federal bill endorsed by U.S. English is relatively mild—it would ban other languages on ballots and in citizenship ceremonies, for example, but make exceptions for emergency aid, health services.

What does it all mean? Majlis argues that official English addresses practical problems like misgated bilingual education and costly printing of government documents in other languages. Yet it is hard not to conclude that what's lost is something else, a sense for absolute at a time when society is fragmenting. That is less concrete, but for many Americans, as less reported. □

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World NOTES

FRANCE TO VOTE EARLY

French President Jacques Chirac called snap parliamentary elections a year early, asking voters to support his party's planned currency union, political reforms and Chirac, whose own term ends until 2002, suddenly hopes to hold on to a firmly majority before budget cuts and rising unemployment further erode the popularity of Prime Minister Alain Juppé's centre-right government. But many commentators forecast a tight race against the opposition Socialists. First round voting for the 577 National Assembly seats will set on May 25, with runoffs on June 1.

SINO-RUSSIAN PACT

Russia, China and three other central Asian nations signed a treaty in Moscow to reduce troops along the old Sino-Soviet border. Visiting Chinese President Jiang Zemin and Russia's Boris Yeltsin also outlined a post-Cold War vision of "strategic cooperation" appearing one-country domination of international affairs. Washington welcomed the pact and denied seeking "domination or a imperial world."

Zaire's MISSING REFUGEES

About 100,000 Rwandan Hutu refugees disappeared from their camps in eastern Zaire shortly after rebel fighters seized the area from aid agencies for a supposed military operation. UN officials searched by plane for the former residents of camps near rebel-held Kisangani. Aid officials accused the rebels of forcing the refugees into the jungle to die.

MYSTERY PLANE FOUND

Military searches in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado finally found wreckage of a U.S. air force attack jet that disappeared on April 2 during a no-fly zone mission over Arizona. They also found remains thought to be pilot Capt. Craig Butler. Investigators remained mystified as to why his A-10 jet broke formation.

OLDEST BIRTH MOTHER

A 63-year-old American has emerged as the world's oldest known mother. The unidentified California woman gave birth to a daughter last November by caesarean section, after an artificially inseminated egg was implanted. Doctors said she had claimed she was 50 to qualify for an infertility program,

'A second revolution'

I Timothy McVeigh a "twisted" ideologue who blew up a U.S. federal office building in Oklahoma City and killed 28 people? Or an innocent man wrongly accused of the worst act of domestic terrorism in American history? Two years and five days after a truck loaded with 1,600 kg of explosives destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, a array of seven men and five women heard opening statements in McVeigh's trial.

Prosecutor Joseph Hartinger told them that McVeigh, a 29-year-old former soldier, was a warped patriot driven to make a "second American revolution." McVeigh, he said, wanted revenge for what he saw as a government disaster of innocence in the fiery assault on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Tex., exactly two years earlier. Hartinger said he will prove that McVeigh discussed the Oklahoma bombing with other people, rented the truck and bought the es-



McVeigh is shown; Mantzler (left); a twisted ideologue or an innocent man? (photos in order to impose his views in an act of terror intended to serve selfish political purposes.)

Defence attorney Stephen Jones responded firmly that "my client is innocent." McVeigh, he said, did not rent the truck and was unidentified by witnesses. Jones said his main witness, Michael Fortier, first said that McVeigh was innocent, but changed his story to avoid prosecution. And he said the FBI manipulated crucial physical evidence. McVeigh faces the charge of conspiracy and eight counts of murder. The trial, held under tight security in Denver, is expected to stretch into the summer.



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WEAPONS

A global ban on poison gas

The U.S. Senate approved a global convention banning the production, storage and use of poison gas. No problems had blocked ap-

proval of the treaty, signed by

former president George Bush in early 1993. But after President Bill Clinton promised to withdraw if other countries use it to endanger the United States or spread poison gas technology. Major Leader Tom Harkin endorsed the treaty and brought along other Republicans. The Chemical Weapons Convention has been ratified by 74 countries, including Canada, and takes effect on April 29. Participating nations pledge never to develop, produce, otherwise acquire, stockpile or otherwise chemical weapons—and to destroy what they have. U.S. critics argued that it might help stop rogue nations like Iraq or Libya to acquire such technology.

Netanyahu survives

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu kept his shaky coalition together after protesters demanded his resignation in an influence-peddling scandal. But his opponents made sure the issue stayed alive with court challenges and demands for a cabinet reshuffle. Up: Israeli Attorney General Elyakim Shalit and others were "real suspects" of Netanyahu's involvement in an alleged secret political deal over the appointment in January of an ill-qualified right-wing lawyer, Basi Bar-On, as attorney general. Bar-On resigned a day later, but police arrested a three-month

probe after reports surfaced that religious party leader Avigdor Lieberman, who was an trial for corruption, expected to get a plea bargain or a pardon from Bar-On in return for maintaining support of the government. The investigation recommended charging Netanyahu with fraud and breach of trust. Attorney General Shalit said there was not sufficient evidence, but added that Bar-On would be charged with corruption and Netanyahu aide Amos Yaron would face further investigation. As Netanyahu claimed vindication, his coalition allies stepped back from threats to pull out. The prime minister also agreed to set up a committee to examine secret agreements.

GATESCRASHER

SPECIAL REPORT

BY JOHN SCHOFIELD

Michael Cowpland, the bushy, publicity-seeking CEO of Ottawa-based Corel Corp., was pushing his luck. On the very morning last January that Microsoft mogul Bill Gates was unveiling the latest version of his best-selling Office '97 software package in New York City, Cowpland had organized a small news conference across town to promote his own offering, WordPerfect Suite 7. But from the beginning, things went terribly wrong. Training was delayed, the name of his executive jet, and en route to the Grand Hyatt hotel for the event, his limo was waylaid by the city's legendary gridlock. He arrived 49 minutes late to find that almost half the invited analysts and reporters had relegated it to the dustbin. For those less familiar than Cowpland, there might have been a jeering mob that steals the show from Bill Gates. The head of Canada's largest software company, however, is nothing if not a fighter.

Since buying WordPerfect last year from Novell Inc. of Provo, Utah, for \$210 million, Cowpland has learned what he needs to do what no one in the \$34.45-billion-a-year software industry has ever done—he's taken Gates' role as Microsoft's most lucrative product niche, business software packages. "We're really running it into a mega-control," says Cowpland. "When we acquired WordPerfect, people were saying it was being 'Nowhere's saying that anymore, because we're fighting back."

Cowpland is poised to throw another punch this month when Corel launches its latest and most sophisticated version of WordPerfect. Over the past 15 months, Cowpland views WordPerfect Suite 8 will sell more than half the market from Microsoft Office, measured by the number of units shipped to retailers. Farther down the road, he hopes to outflank his gauntlet-rivalling by leading the way towards competing a better new world: a programing language called Java, that is designed to run on any kind of computer. Cowpland and an aggressive list of allies—including IBM and Netscape Communications Corp., the leading maker of later software—believe that Java will end Microsoft's software dominance once and for all.

In any other business, Cowpland would be laughed out of town. But in the computer game, giant have been humbled before by sudden shifts in

technology: witness IBM's sudden fall when mainframe systems gave way to desktop PCs; or the late 1980s' Stolz Copeland—at 54, the grand old man of Canadian high technology—shutting down an irreversible line, compared with Microsoft. Corel is a bit player. "He's running up hill and it's a pretty steep hill," says David Wright, a high-tech analyst with Macmillan Leathier Securities Inc. in Toronto.

The numbers tell a daunting tale. Microsoft is now worth \$15 billion in cash, and spent more than \$2.5 billion in 1995 alone on research and development. Corel has, by Corel's own estimate, less than \$80 million in the bank, and spent \$90 million on R&D last year, to the detriment of recent financial years. Corel posted revenues

of \$400 million, compared with Microsoft's \$11.8 billion. In Microsoft's case, more than half of that amount was generated by office software packages or "suits."

In Canada, Microsoft Office accounts for 85 per cent of office suite revenues, according to A.C. Nielsen, a market research firm. "Microsoft Office has earned, and continues to earn, an inflated market share," boasts Jeff Dalessio, general manager of Microsoft Canada in Mississauga, Ont.

Cowpland is not only up against the industry's largest player, but the most aggressive, as well. In its relentless drive to install the Windows operating system on every personal computer in every corner of the world, Microsoft has created some competitors and severely inflamed the rest. Now, Corel is in its sights. Along with its "Get Network" group of small software developers, Microsoft is rumored to have formed a "Get Corel" hit squad. "The office suite market is probably the most competitive market. But you'd find anywhere," says Ann Stephenson, president of Boston, Va.-based PC Data, a market research firm that trades software sales. "I would hate to see competing against Microsoft in that category."

Cowpland, however, is not about to blit. "People think you can't compete with Microsoft successfully, but I think we're showing you can," he says. "We're becoming a major threat in the sale of Microsoft, and that's going to eventually pay off big time." Former Ontario premier Bill Davis, a member of Corel's board since 1989, points out that it would be a mistake to underestimate Cowpland. "He's quite prepared to compete with any of the major players in the business."

In fact, Cowpland has no fear whatsoever about a life-style choice. His passion for sports almost made his last for business. His father, Ronald, now 82 and still living in the village of Bedford in southwest Nova Scotia where Cowpland grew up, made his career as a pinball, racing bridge, and coaching tennis. His mother, Margaret, who died in 1972, ran a successful catering business. "My father's still active in bridge, golf and tennis, and I'm pleased to say he still wins me in all three," says the smiling son.

Cowpland Sr would have a harder time keeping up with his son's jet-set lifestyle, which at times almost outshines his exploits in business. He divorced his first wife, Dorothy, in 1981; has two daughters from that marriage, Paula, 28, and Christine, 25, are studying medicine. A year later he married Marie Therese, a platinum blonde from southern Quebec who is 15 years his junior. In their 1982 wedding photos, she stretches languorously on the top of Cowpland's white Landau convertible. Two years ago, she posed provocatively for the couple's Christmas card in a red sequined Santa suit. That same year she helped design the couple's 1,600-square-foot, glistening, gold-dusted glass palace in the city's tony Sandfield district. The \$14-million house, framed with Roman columns and arches, drew thousands of curious onlookers and provoked outrage among the neighborhood's blue-blooded denizens. "It was just a big formal trap," says Marco Rotolo, a Bedf ordville resident and former society columnist for the Ottawa Citizen. The Cowplands' names regularly appear in the pages of *Frank Magazine*, the Ottawa-based social sheet. "They're absolute yuge to follow here in Ottawa," says Frank editor Michael Ball.

Cowpland, whose net worth exceeds \$100 million, says his taste for the finer things is simply a "byproduct" of Corel's success. The sprawling residence—home to Cowpland, his wife, her 22-year-old son,

Brian, by a previous marriage, and four dogs, Blanche, Bonny, Chico and Zoey—"mainly for sports," he says, with his son's squash courts and an outdoor tennis court. The underground garage also offers plenty of space for his collection of fine sports cars, including two Porsches and a Jaguar.

At work and at play, Cowpland puts a premium on speed. Before check-in and bidding, he waves off the conference room's portiere and drifts serenely over, like his dad older brother, Godfrey, who still lives in Bedford, competing in the over-45 doubles category at Wellington. "I'm continually saturated by how energy level," says Paul Lafferty, an Ottawa lawyer who sits on Corel's board and serves as its legal counsel. "If you watch him, he's constantly in motion. And when he's alone, he does it very quickly."

He awoke early in 1995, when Corel became one of the first companies to produce software for Microsoft's then-new Windows operating system. On the strength of its low price and easy-to-use features, CorelDraw soon became the number 1 PC graphics program, and ousted Corel—an acronym for Cowpland Research Labs—in to the upper ranks of the North American software industry. Even now, with many more competitors, CorelDraw has about five million users, or 15 per cent of the PC graphics market.

Cowpland has content to ride that wave until two years ago, when



Cowpland and wife Marlene at Ottawa's National Golf Club last week, a repetition for high living



Gates: the software industry's wealthiest and most aggressive player

SPECIAL REPORT

a version of Draw designed to run on that operating system flourished.

The company lost \$1.2 million in the fourth quarter of 1985, and lost money again in the first quarter of 1986. Suddenly, analysts were sounding their disapproval. Corel was parting too many bytes in one basket, some said. And it was time for the company to go shopping.

Coupland arrived in as WordPerfect. Once the unanticipated lull of word processing with about 80 per cent of the market, the trend started badly in the late 1980s by taking too long to introduce a Windows-compatible version. It lost market ground to Microsoft when it failed to anticipate the huge demand for office suites, which combine a word processor with an accounting program and other popular software products.

With 25 million users, Coupland says, WordPerfect was just too good to pass up. "It's a huge global brand name, and we thought that was a fantastic opportunity." The price was attractive, too. Corel wound up paying \$21 million, almost \$2 billion less than Novell had forked over in 1984. But there was work to be done. "Morale there had deteriorated so significantly that people were just grinding the clock down to five," recalls Arlen Bartchuk, Corel's former senior director of worldwide sales and marketing. "So we went in and did a lot of re-align. We pulled everybody together and nurtured an internal culture of 'We can do it.'

Those motivational meetings were put aside last year ago when the company introduced WordPerfect Suite 3. Corel slipped its professional machine into overdrive, and the results were undeniably impressive. From a meagre 15 per cent of the retail market—sales to individual computer users—WordPerfect shot up to 31 per cent last summer, prompting Coupland to proclaim victory over Microsoft. Corel's market share was up 40 per cent after Gates released Office 95 in January. Coupland hopes to repeat last year's success in June when WordPerfect Suite 3 hits the stores. Still, the company's performance to date is nothing to be ashamed of, says Stephens. "I don't think anyone ever thought that Corel was going to continue to have a 30 per cent share of the retail market, but they carved out a slice, and it's a good slice."

Coupland has followed a simple strategy: cut prices and offer customers more standard features than the competition. Corel's basic WordPerfect suite for \$820, compared with Microsoft's Office 95's suggested price of \$869. (The recommended "upgrade" prices for users of earlier versions are \$875 and \$894 respectively.) Despite Microsoft's belated Corel's approach as "more bang in the box," adding "it's a strategy of more is better, regardless of whether it's valuable to the user." Coupland, though, is undaunted.

"Whatever it is, people like it. We're paying close attention to what consumers want and we're giving it to them."

Unfortunately for Coupland, Corel's guerrilla pricing has met with far less success in the corporate market, which accounts for 88 per cent of office software sales. Rather than focusing on price or cutting-edge technology, corporate buyers put a premium on standardized

software that keeps information flowing smoothly. Using one family of software makes it easier to train employees, says Victor Riga, an information systems manager with Vancouver-based MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. Buying from Microsoft also represents long-term stability. "It's like the old expression, 'Nobody ever got fired for choosing IBM,'" says Riga, whose employer began using Microsoft Office on its more than 2,000 PCs in 1982. "The new expression is, 'Nobody ever got fired for choosing Microsoft.'"

Coupland maintains that WordPerfect's corporate market share is expanding and insists that low prices will eventually win the day. But in his own backyard, he has struggled to win converts. Last June, he complained loudly when the department of national defence passed over the local company and instead agreed to buy \$2 million worth of software from Microsoft. Around the same time, Corel offered to give software away to municipalities and nonprofit organizations. Although the City of Ottawa made the switch, nearby Kanata, Ont.—the heartland of Canada's high-tech industry and site of the Corel Centre, home to the Ottawa Senators hockey club—decided to stick with Microsoft, which had matched Coupland's free offer.

Winning over large companies may prove even harder. "In the corporate market, it's a matter of who gets first," says Riga. To break Microsoft's stranglehold, he adds, "I think there'd have to be some dramatic change in the evolution of technology."

As Coupland sees it, Java is the dramatic change. Developed by Canadian James Gosling at Sun Microsystems as a revolutionary programming language that can run on virtually any computer, Java is "platform independent," it represents a threat to the two companies that rule the PC world, Microsoft and Intel Corp., the largest maker of microprocessors. If Java Were up to its billing, there would no longer be much need for expensive desktop computers with their complex operating systems and stacks of software. Instead, manufacturers would sell cheap, no-fills "thin-client" computers that only include the most commonly used programs. When a user needs more specialized software, he would simply download a computer Java application or "applet" from the Internet or a local computer network, vastly reducing both the cost and the complexity of computing.

With the introduction of a test version of Office for Mac in April, Corel became the first company to offer a complete office software package written in the universal programming language. "Corel is really the leader now in developing Java-based desktop applications," says Ian Wright, strate-



Eric account manager for Netscape in Mountain View, Calif. Netscape, IBM and Sun Microsystems are spending millions of dollars to create Java software. "It's a game-up mentality," says Stephen of PC Data.

Microsoft's Dosssett dismisses the Java threat as a bit of "faff and hope." It will never replace Windows, he argues. Nevertheless, Microsoft is taking the threat seriously. Together with Intel, Microsoft has developed technical standards that will allow manufacturers to build Windows-based network computers. There are also rumors that Microsoft is developing its own office software for Java. "But Microsoft isn't going to want to put a lot into it because it's almost like shooting the moon in the lot," says Coupland. "If you've got a nice cash cow monopoly, you don't want to encourage the competition too much."

Analysts such as Marilyn Lester's David Wright acknowledge Java's potential, but caution that it could be two years or more before it gains a significant foothold in the corporate market. In the meantime, Coupland has to focus mind of his efforts on competing with Microsoft's existing software products. That involves many investors' nerves. Corel's stock closed the week at \$7.85 a share, its lowest level since 1983, and a long way from its 1985 high of \$35. For some

analysts, the scenario is too reminiscent of Coupland's days at the helm of Mitel Corp., an Ottawa-based manufacturer of telephone switches that rose to stratospheric heights before crashing in the mid-1980s.

Coupland founded Mitel in 1973 with Tony Matthews, who now heads Nortel Networks Corp., an Ottawa-based telecommunications company. The two men left to work for another subsidiary of Northern Telecom, and on a lousy weekend vacation got together to catalog a shared passion, racing cars. Eventually, they worked up the courage to quit their jobs and start Mitel. At first, growth was slow with Mitel's initial systems, the duo scored big by targeting the low end of the market for private telephone exchanges—complex switches that control phone lines within companies. Driven by Coupland's engineering genius and Matthews's marketing flair, the company meanwhile rose to 5,000 employees and \$220 million in sales by 1982.

It was during Mitel's heyday that Coupland first earned a reputation for high living. In 1984, he bought a sprawling house outside Ottawa from developer Robert Campbell. A Gooplend wedding photo (above); the 1985 Christmas card (far right).

and hired Montreal architect David Shremont to turn it into a grandiose pleasure palace at which Coupland entertained Mitel clients. The 30,000-square-foot residence was fitted with 38 gold bathrooms, a \$200,000 solarium and a \$25,000 dance floor featuring a Linking Mitel logo.

Coupland's party did not last long. With the breakup in 1985 of U.S. phone giant AT&T, Mitel's largest customer, sales plummeted by 25 per cent. Then there was the fusor surrounding the \$20,000-a-technologically-advanced phone switch that was intended to snatch some of the market from communications juggernauts such as AT&T, British and Northern Telecom. Developed in tandem with IBM, the \$8,000 switch was delayed by a year when the Blue policed out. Later, sales bogged down amid technical problems. The company ran up millions of dollars of debt, and Coupland resigned in 1987.

Anthony Griffiths, a corporate finance expert who took the helm at Mitel in 1985, says the company's misfortunes were partly caused by Coupland's and Matthews's inexperience. "The company started growing so fast, and they didn't have the management capacity in place to control it. I used to play tennis with [Coupland] quite often. He once told me he had learned a lot of lessons at Mitel." Coupland dismisses any suggestion that he mismanaged Mitel. "I think the success speaks for itself," he says. "It's still one of the largest firms in the world. Every company has a little hiccup now and then."

This time out, Coupland has been careful not to overextend himself. He recently announced plans to spin off Corel's videoconferencing and network computer operations into a subsidiary, Corel Computer Corp. And last month, he sold Corel's line of educational and entertainment CD-ROMs to J. Hollings & Associates Inc., of Toronto for \$1 million and a 25-per-cent stake in the company. The



The Rockville museum: Coupland's blue-blooded neighbors were outraged

15 per cent of the retail market—sales to individual computer users—WordPerfect shot up to 31 per cent last summer, prompting Coupland to proclaim victory over Microsoft. Corel's market share was up 40 per cent after Gates released Office 95 in January. Coupland hopes to repeat last year's success in June when WordPerfect Suite 3 hits the stores. Still, the company's performance to date is nothing to be ashamed of, says Stephens. "I don't think anyone ever thought that Corel was going to continue to have a 30 per cent share of the retail market, but they carved out a slice, and it's a good slice."

Coupland has followed a simple strategy: cut prices and offer customers more standard features than the competition. Corel's basic WordPerfect suite for \$820, compared with Microsoft's Office 95's suggested price of \$869. (The recommended "upgrade" prices for users of earlier versions are \$875 and \$894 respectively.) Despite Microsoft's belated Corel's approach as "more bang in the box," adding "it's a strategy of more is better, regardless of whether it's valuable to the user." Coupland, though, is undaunted.

"Whatever it is, people like it. We're paying close attention to what consumers want and we're giving it to them."

Unfortunately for Coupland, Corel's guerrilla pricing has met with far less success in the corporate market, which accounts for 88 per cent of office software sales. Rather than focusing on price or cutting-edge technology, corporate buyers put a premium on standardized

COREL CORP.

FOUNDER:	1985
NO. OF EMPLOYEES:	1,460
SALES:	\$221 million
1994	\$245 million
1995	\$265 million
1996	\$451 million

NET INCOME (LOSS):	\$43.9 million
1994	\$19.6 million
1995	(\$5.7) million
1996	(\$5.7) million



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BRE-X BROUHAHA

Shares of Bre-X Minerals Ltd. briefly doubled in value in response to a false rumor on the Internet that the president of Freeport-McMoRan Copper and Gold Inc. had resigned. Investors interpreted the report to mean that Freeport was wrong about its finding of "insignificant" gold at Bre-X's Indonesian property.

BELL SOFTWARE LAB

Bell Canada said it will establish the country's second-largest software research and development lab, potentially creating hundreds of jobs. Bell president John McLauchlan would not comment on its location. The growth of the Internet and coming competition for local phone service are fueling demand for new software, he said.

NO MALL MATTER

Sawy Sheet Ltd. and Dylan Ltd., two of Canada's largest retail chains, are seeking court permission to negotiate rent cuts or break their leases in malls headed by Eaton's stores. The move raised fears that the closure of some Eaton's stores would prompt a rash of departures by other retailers.

THE REICHMANNS RETURN

Ottoman handled a group of companies, including a firm owned by members of the Reichmann family, the right to re-develop a 158-acre Toronto Concourse Forces base in Toronto. The deal completed over 15 years, the BMO Financial group will invest \$1.5 billion and an indoor entertainment complex built by Heathcote Arts & Entertainment Corp., controlled by Albert Reichmann and his nephew, Alain.

A BANKING FIRST

Dutch financial giant ING Group is rolling out Canada's first foreign-owned virtual bank. The move follows on the heels of Citibank, another branchless bank started by Vancouver City Savings Credit Union in January.

TOBACCO SETBACKS

Anti-smoking advocates in the United States hailed a federal judge ruling in North Carolina that the Food and Drug Administration has authority to regulate sales and labeling of cigarettes. In Canada, the cigarette industry failed to convince a Montreal judge to strike a nine federal anti-tobacco law before it receives royal assent.

Smooth play for Isiah

I t may rank as the most interesting shot of Isiah Thomas's basketball career. The former National Basketball Association star signed a letter of intent to buy a controlling interest in the NHL's Toronto Raptors. The deal with majority owner Alonzo Slaght will make the Raptors' 36-year-old general manager the first African American to acquire control of a major league sports team.

The agreement showed that Thomas is asified in the boardroom as he was on the hardwood. He had threatened to sell his one percent interest in the team and quit as general manager if the deal did not go through—and many of the Raptors' key players have vowed to follow him out of town. Now backed by an unidentified group of Canadian and U.S. investors, he hopes to negotiate an end to a



Artist's conception of new arena; Thomas, the new Raptors' owner will play the peacemaker

long-standing feud between the Raptors and the NHL's Toronto Maple Leafs over a new arena. Antagonism between former Raptors co-owner John卑te Jr. and Leafs owner Steve Stavros had pummeled sales between the two teams, and the Raptors have started work on a separate facility. Slaght bought out卑te in November. As the new owner, now at Thomas's pleasure will be to bring the teams together in one building. The Leafs recently unveiled plans for a new arena atop Toronto's Union Station, next to the Raptors' chosen site.

TSE floor falls silent

After 145 consecutive years, the Toronto Stock Exchange closed its trading floor amid a flurry of confetti and the popping of clapper page oaths. Shares will now be bought and sold entirely through computers in brokerage offices, with entries transmitted electronically to the TSE. You have heard the last one, president Rosland Piering told handshakes at

speculations. "This is a moment to reflect on the end of a Canadian tradition." At its peak, the exchange's floor played host to about 400 traders, but their numbers began shrinking with the introduction of full electronic trading in 1990. In recent weeks, the TSE has faced a barrage of criticism over technical breakdowns. Officials have promised that a new computer system to be installed by the end of the year will prevent such problems.

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Canadian retail sales surged in February, a sign of accelerating economic growth. Consumer purchases rose 1.1 per cent from January's 7.7 per cent, over a year ago. Statistics Canada said the inflation rate in March fell to two per cent from 2.2 per cent in February.

A Reuters poll of 34 North American economists suggested that the U.S. economy would weaken slightly over the next two years, avoiding recession but staying below the zero-growth line and inflation in check.

Household debt jumped to a huge 97 per cent of disposable income at the end of last year. This is likely to

have risen further in the opening months of 1997 with strong mortgage lending adding to buoyant consumer loans and stagnant household incomes.

—Scotiabank

The new jobs created during the first quarter of the year were, on average, more stable and higher paying when compared to the same period a year ago.

—CIBC

RETAIL SALES



A 25 basis-point rise in the bank rate is possible if the bank rate is possible if we get confirmation of strengthening employment growth with the release of April data.

—Bank of Montreal





Peter C. Newman

The agony and ecstasy of Campaign '97

In the tumult of events that characterize election campaigns, issues soon become obscure and political motives twist. Party strategists constantly believe, every president to the contrary, that they are deploying their political troops in lockstep, marching to victory. In truth, the process is almost totally out of their control, and every campaign takes on an unpredictable life of its own.

This time the fight is about unmaking history.

History is defined by legacy. From Chretien has been prime minister of Canada for more than 40 months, yet he has dropped no hints about how he wants to be remembered. (Giving his will devotes off an assessment with a piece of Iron sculpture? Starting a flight in T-11P? Surviving a C-130 plane full formula?)

Every prime minister leaves the distinct echo of the legacy and government much for the history books, as for the waters. In that context, John Diefenbaker gave us a bill of rights; Lester Pearson left behind nuclear裁, a flag and a national pension plan; Pierre Trudeau willed Canadians the Charter of Rights and Freedoms; Joe Clark lost some language; and Brian Mulroney endowed the country with the GST and free trade.

Jean Chretien can certainly claim that under his government the back of the federal deficit was broken, but credit for that, an impressive accomplishment, generally goes to Paul Martin. At any rate, it's something of a negative accomplishment, compared to leaving behind some great act of enhancement or impressive parliamentary legislation. In fact, Chretien does not deserve much of the credit for putting our financial house in order because Terry佐藤 minister Michael Wilson wanted to balance the budget just as badly as Paul Martin, but never received support for the required expenditure cuts from Brian Mulroney.)

Chretien's other claim for historical recognition would, of course, be leading Canada through the mid-Quebec referendum. But that would merely leave Canada in the status quo situation of remaining the nation it was before all the has started. What Jean Chretien needs is some "new" law or legislation or one of those majestic defining moments that sometimes mark elections, so that he can perhaps fit his name in the historical record, instead of merely filling the space between his predecessor and successor.

The election ought to focus his mind so that he stops giving off that distant cold and uncomprehending lamer glow that sometimes marks his discourse. What Chretien ought not to do this time is what he avoided doing in the 1993 campaign. In that election, every time he couldn't think up an answer to a troubling question, the Liberal leader would hold up the red pamphlet of Liberal promises, and like a country pastor who gets into theological dif-

ficulties, begin to shout "It's in the book! It's in the book!" (I used to hear new workers that tactic well-received: voters that the 1993 Red Book promised to eliminate the GST.)

For Opposition Leader Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois the election is a much more pleasant contest. His members have one grand objective: to be re-elected so they become eligible for lifetime parliamentary pensions. (If no one can pay them at least to reflect the last, if the PQ members have their way, Quebec will be independent by the time the next Canadian election rolls around. Only if they win their second term can they continue trying to save the country apart, and yet have a claim on that same country's treasury to finance their retirement. Only in Canada.)

For Preston Manning, it may be his last big chance. No matter how often Manning repeats that the Reform party is all about "the founding of a New Canada," it's really about trying to perpetuate a very Old Canada. The Reform party's version of Canada dates back to the turn of the century when immigrants mostly from the United Kingdom and northern Europe settled on the Canadian plains. That time is long gone, but what remains in the Reformers' memory bank is that this was a time when white Protestants were at the forefront of Canadian evolution. And what Reform is really about is an astonished cry of protest that this is no longer true, and that it ought to be true again.

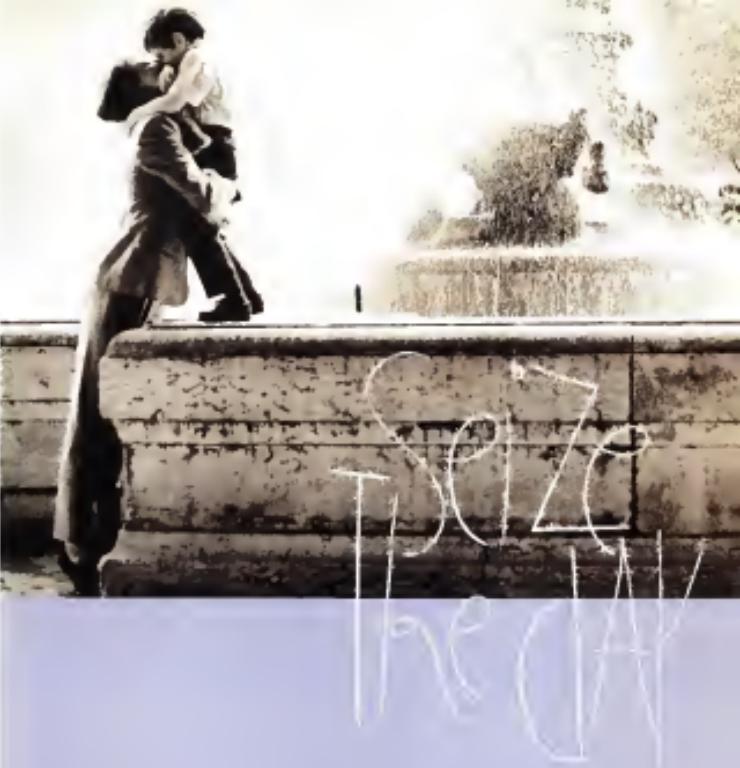
For the New Democrats, the election will be an exercise in trying to prove their grip on the conscience of Canada without ever having to impress R. Fawcett with the repressive policies of Ontario and Alberta, as well as most of the nation's daily press. There ought to be plenty of room for the socialists to grow. But their leader, Alex McDonough, has yet to prove that she will be a serious factor in the campaign.

Jean Chretien goes into the election with the highest potential for growth. Above all, he is now. It was only two years ago, fighting in the trenches against Lucien Bouchard in the Quebec referendum, that Chretien proved his worth. This is a man who believes in his mission and isn't in politics merely to advance his career.

The election comes at an opportune moment. Nothing much is left on the Liberal agenda. The governing party needs an election to renew its energies and initiatives. The Tories can no go on lauding itself to the wilderness, they need to know if they're headed for a return to office, or oblivion. The Reformers have a similar dilemma. Will Preston and them beyond the pale or into the promised land? The NDP needs merely to survive.

Out of the campaign will hopefully emerge a broad new coalition of political forces, ready to face the next, and perhaps final Quebec referendum. Is that a fight that will really set Canada's future

Meantwhile, in the games begin



**Jean Chretien
needs some brave
new legislation or
a magic defining
moment to
perpetuate his
name in history**

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People

Edited by
BARBARA WICKENS

Designs on home decor

Can anyone do it better than home-style maven Martha Stewart? Lynne Jennings sure is trying. Lynne Jennings (Marie-Saint, her down-to-earth, how-long-TV-decorating program shows) has been a week on the Discovery Channel, is drawing North American ratings that surpass those of Stewart's more high-brow and fanciful Martha Stewart Living. Jennings, 49, who is now also a regular guest on ABC's *Good Morning America* as well as the author of numerous magazine articles on home design and decorating, based her TV studio on the CBC's *Lynne Jennings Home Show*. Then in 1994, she began dividing her time between her Toronto home and Atlanta, where her production company produces the new program. Jennings attributes her current success to the "simple can" approach she devised for her small Canadian audience and their assassination attitudes. "In Canada, you have to focus on what the audience wants and then discipline yourself to deliver the straight goods," she adds. "There's a little room for error here."



'On the easy side'

In the 1997 federal election, Port Arthur, Ont., Muscular Dystrophy activist and the logically Liberal "matriarch of anything," C.B. Fisher, became an MP for the old CP/Party. Forty years later, this-heat, free-spirited Fisher is still a towering figure on Parliament Hill, though he has moved left politics for journalism. Fisher first worked for the Toronto Telegram, which folded in 1971, then some time ago, political columnist for the Star, writing columns. Lately, Fisher, 77, was there for those 40 years of service to a wide range of issues, from both the third and fourth estates. Among those in attendance were fellow journalists Jason MacIsaac of CBC, Henry Champ and Nancy Wilson, both of Newsworld; Trevor Sun, publisher Doug Creighton, and Fisher's son Luke, a member of Michael Ignatieff's team. The political faction was represented by, among others, former Liberal cabinet minister Melvin Page, and current senators Bob Martin, Doug Young, and Herb Gray. The Press Monitor also showed up at the event at the August Rideau Club. "You have made a great contribution to the Hill," said Chisholm told Fisher, "but you're now on the easy side, and I'm still on the rough side."



C.B. Fisher, right, and his son Luke Fisher.

The mystery of why

English mystery novelist Morna Wathers has one rule when it comes to writing her best-selling books: "The body always disappears in the first four pages." That is the case in her fifth and newest mystery, *The Ends*, in which a vagrant named Billy Blaize inexplicably chooses to starve to death in a garage belonging to Antoinette

Powell, a wealthy London architect. But beyond the timing of the corpse's first appearance, Wathers, 48, a former magazine editor who wrote romance novels under the pseudonym before turning to crime fiction in 2002, follows few of the genre's conventions. Instead of a novel that merely keeps readers guessing about who committed the crime, Wathers prefers instead to focus the mystery on why it happened. In fact, the



Rock-solid performers

Only days after winning her third World Women's Curling Championship, in Bern, Switzerland, Sandra Schmirler was back in Regina last week suffering from a miserable cold.

That figure—in March, after winning the Scott Tournament of Hearts two weeks ago, she could not take medication for the bug because she is five months pregnant. And although curling season is now over, there is no respite. "It's not like professional sports where you can relax in the off-season," Schmirler says. "We all have to go back to work." But the 33-year-old recreation supervisor wasn't really complaining. By defending Norway for the world title, she and teammates Jon Berker, Joann McCusker, Marcia Gardiner and alternate Atina Ford boasted their invite to represent Canada at the 1998 Winter Olympics in Nagano, Japan. Still, they are taking nothing for granted—that berth will be decided at a qualifying tournament next fall. "But again, you can go to the world championships and do well," Schmirler says. "You give a lot of confidence."

Schmirler,
Berker,
McCusker,
Gardiner,
Ford
give
you a lot of
confidence

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A failing grade for user fees

It has become an increasingly popular way for public schools to fund everything from field trips to wood supplies for shop class—slap students with user fees. But in British Columbia, such charges may soon go the way of the one-room schoolhouse. Earlier this month, ruling that “everything that is done by the teacher for his or her class” should be free, the B.C. Supreme Court decided that many such fees are illegal. “The whole idea of public education is to allow everyone to have access to the same educational opportunities,” said Jack McDonald, the Victoria parent who took the issue to court. In the wake of the decision, some schools have already cancelled field trips. And at a meeting scheduled for this week, the Victoria board of education will deliberate making the government to cancel the School Act to allow these changes. That request may find a sympathetic ear in Education Minister Paul Ransey, who recently announced cuts of \$27 million to B.C. schools. “My sense,” said Ransey, “is that most parents in the province don’t have a great deal of trouble paying for materials.” Others beg to differ.

McDonald with daughter Marissa: access to opportunities



RETURN DEPOSIT

Practice may make perfect—but it can be an expensive proposition for taxpayers. In recent years, as competition has intensified for spaces in certain college and university courses, many high school students have sought to improve their marks by repeating their courses. Now, in an effort to recover some of the cost of that double-degging, the Alberta government has decided to introduce a bill giving boards the option of requiring students to pay a deposit before taking a course a second time. Should students attend fewer than half the classes, fail to finish their course work, or attain a final grade of less than 50 per cent, the board, which will likely be in the neighbourhood of \$100, would be liable. UCalgary Leader Bruce MacIntosh attacked the move as another tax from poorer homes, saying “It gives the seeds for a two-tiered education system.” But Education Minister Gary MacLean, who points out that it was cost-shy school boards that suggested the idea, says household income should not be an issue, and adds that he expects boards to include a waiver policy for students who are “unable to pay the \$100 up front.” Call it equal opportunity—the second time around.

Cutting boards—and raiding cupboards

It’s been a flash point for heated discussion among parents, teachers and politicians. But last week, the Fraser School Board passed with little debate in the Ontario legislature. The reason: the government of Premier Mike Harris used procedural tactics to prevent opposition parties from introducing amendments to the new act, which reduces the number of boards from 129 to 66. It also creates an Education Improvement Commission to oversee the changes and approve new budgets. Some teachers unions immediately proceeded to challenge the new law in court, saying it violates constitutional guarantees. Mean-

while, several boards acknowledged they have been dipping into special reserve funds—spending their savings while they can. Days before the new law passed, the Wentworth County School Board near Hamilton withdrew almost \$50 million from a \$5.9-million reserve fund, channelling much of it towards school upgrades and new technology. “This government could easily take these reserves away,” said board chairman Bruce Wallace, who is also treasurer of the Ontario Public School Boards Association. “They were collected to be used on local education. We’re making sure they are.”

Doctors and fitness

Do MDs know enough about diet and exercise?

Jeanne Budgett jogs, lifts weights and sticks to a healthy diet to avoid feeling sluggish, tired and depressed. The 47-year-old Mississauga, Ont., mommies chooses to run because sunlight on her skin produces the vitamin D she requires to absorb essential bone calcium. The weight-lifter’s exercise concern: “Japanese women who have to carry groceries frequently because of their small refrigerators build upper body strength and have low rates of osteoporosis,” says Budgett. But did she pick up those tips from her family doctor? Hardly. Doctors don’t tell you about these methods because it hasn’t been part of their education,” says Budgett, a mother of two. “It’s easier just to give a pill.”

Budgett is part of a growing public movement looking for better nutrition and fitness advice from doctors. As governments continue to cut health-care funding and close hospitals, she and others are increasingly asking why doctors have failed to embrace the less

expensive treatment methods used in many other countries. For thousands of years, healers around the world have recognized the power of carefully controlled herbs and natural remedies, along with specialized exercise, in keeping the body fit and well. Lately, North Americans have been having an increasing number to those old methods—along with alarmingly little instruction. And the medical establishment is only beginning to come to terms with that demand.

The American healer Thomas Edison once predicted that “The doctor of the future will give no medicine, but will interest his or her patients in the care of the human frame, in proper diet, and in the cause and prevention of disease.” For all Edison’s brilliance, that clearly has not happened, even though



Budgett: It's easier just to give a pill!

THE CLIP

ALONE IS

TESTED

MORE TIMES

THAN MOST

CARMAKERS

TEST THEIR

BRAKES.

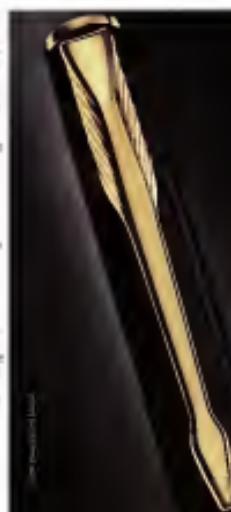
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HEALTH

standard tests—day for therapy and exercise as preferred digital treatments for a range of problems, including high blood pressure and high cholesterol. Integrative tests also suggest these approaches for depression, stress, anxiety, allergies, arthritis, attention deficit disorder and epilepsy.

In practice, however, most North American-trained physicians are poorly equipped—or uninterested—to give detailed counsel on nutrition or exercise. Canada's health care billing system generally rewards doctors only for a strictly limited amount of counseling, effectively discouraging attention to complex, time-consuming lifestyle issues. On the other hand, doctors are rewarded for seeing many patients for shorter appointments. "Some guys in private practice see up to 80 patients a day," notes Dr. Bill Wilson, who teaches family medicine at the University of Toronto.

But there are signs of a change in attitudes. Professors who teach medical students say they are starting to pay more attention to lifestyle problems. "In the past, it was less," says Dr. Pragy Bansal, acting associate dean for undergraduate medical education at Dalhousie's faculty of medicine. "But that was before we had the large studies showing that exercise has a role in the health of the heart." And the medical profes-

sion has at least backed away from the high-protein, low-carbohydrate regimen it was actively promoting just a few decades ago. Now, it recommends a low-fat, low-cholesterol, high-complex-carbohydrate diet emphasizing starchy and nutrient-rich whole grains (whole rice, rye, oats, etc.), legumes, nuts, seeds and vegetables. Just the kind of diet, as it happens, that has always been common place in the Third World because

Medical students are getting more lifestyle training

it is cheap, readily available and healthy.

Western practitioners are also looking more closely at simple herbal treatments that other cultures have used for centuries. At the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry in Toronto, for instance, Dr. Jacques Brodin is examining the effects of three Asian herbs. His studies focus on certain alkaloids for memory and panic attacks, polygala for long congestion and ginseng to enhance the effects of other herbs. Asked how much of his interest stems from nutrition training he received in

medical school in the late 1970s, the graduate of the University of Sherbrooke in Quebec replies: "None. I didn't get any."

Vancouver Hospital's new Tzu Chi Institute for Complementary and Alternative Medicine reflects the trend towards scientific evaluation of eastern methods. Podiatrist endocrinologist Dr. Wei-Jun Tie, who trained at Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass., and Dalhousie University in Halifax, set up the centre last year to test the efficacy of eastern methods. In 67 visits to China, Tie has observed patients holding energy with the ancient fā cài exercises or benefiting from other eastern practices. "Our role is to integrate the conventional system and the so-called nonconventional," says nurse Gina Dowell, the institute's director of services and education. "Patients want an approach that has more self-help with less drugs and surgery."

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OTTAWA CHILDREN AGE VERSUS CONTENT RATINGS

ers predicted reduced American guidelines will emerge this summer. David McDonald, chief of staff for Massachusetts Rep. representative Edward Markey, who has championed the V-chip in Washington, agrees. "The irony is that, just as Canada is forced to coddle us to what the industry down here is trying to stuff down everybody's throats, the Americans may do a 180-degree turn on them."

The Canadian ratings, unlike the American, will operate exclusively with the V-chip—ready for programming into the sets black set-top boxes—but the Canadian Broadcast and Telecommunications Commission has ordered it to be available by September. In contrast, a U.S. telecommunications bill requires only that the V-chip appear in many TV sets built after February, 1988. The CRTC has yet to determine whether Canadian cable companies will lease or sell the boxes—or for how much. An critics point out the estimated \$1- to \$2-million rental may discourage the poorest, most time-poor families. Says Kelly Williamson, national director of the Toronto-based Alliance for Children and Television: "The parents who are least around to monitor what kids are watching are probably the ones who will be least able to afford it."

The CRTC must decide whether, as in the American system, parental advisories will appear in the form of big icons that flash on the screen for the first 15 seconds of every show. U.S. critics submit that the icons are useless unless parents happen to be in the room. And one month after the system debuts, a study by the Pew Media Research Center reported that 54 per cent of U.S. households had not noticed its existence. Meanwhile, University of Wisconsin communications professor Jeanne Carter cautions that age-based warnings have a "boomerang" effect. Ratings that urge parental control based on age considerations make restricted programmes more attractive.

Other groups have protested the fact that more than 80 per cent of U.S. programming—some fairly violent—has been labeled PG-parental guidance. Says Kathryn Montgomery of Washington's Centre for Media Education: "PG has become this big black hole into which everything falls." But McQueen blames that on how U.S. producers have labeled their works. "Where no culture, it's not in the script, it's how they implement it."

The Canadian guidelines will centre on violence, not sex scenes or foul language. But McQueen argues that was not the CRTC required. And she points out that Canadians have two safeguards that Americans lack: a 1980 voluntary code of conduct whereby broadcasters agreed to refrain from show-

Media

A V-chip tug-of-war

BY MARCI McDONALD

On stage at the Academy Awards last month, he cut a distinctive figure, decked by his co-writer, Kristin Scott Thomas of *The English Patient*. But behind the scenes, Jack Valenti, Hollywood's dapper lobbyist in Washington, cast a shadow that is inadmissibly great and now, nearly a decade after Valenti's whining and dawdling scuttled Canadian legislation to boost the domestic film industry, his shadow has fallen across the country's television screens. This week, in a private broadcasting committee takes the wraps off a new TV rating system to help parents program the V-chip—the B.C. invention designed to block offensive programming, scheduled to be available by next fall. Valenti's debt-burdened movie rating is being blamed for selling a ground-breaking set of Canadian guidelines.

Successfully tested in five cities last year, these guidelines graded shows according to both age-appropriateness and five levels of violent, sexual and language content. But despite an endorsement from three-quarters of the 100 households polled, the Aetna Group on Violence on Television heaped its load on that proposed system. Instead, in a curiously secretive process culminating in a report due to go to federal regulators on April 30, AGVOT is bowing to Valenti's lead at the very moment the American system is under assault from U.S. parent-teacher and mental health groups. Borrowed almost directly from the age-based movie ratings adopted by Hollywood 28 years ago, it is currently under review by the Federal Communications Commission. The system is prompting such a public outcry that Valenti has already been forced to tone down his rhetoric, averting the schism late December, he had warned that, if the FCC attempted changes, "we'll be in court in a nanosecond." Now, industry insiders

Queens, president of the Discovery Channel, insist that the committee's decision was provoked neither by pressure from Valenti nor by his failed Texas chart. "What we're developing is a system for best people," she says. "We hope and we believe our system should not be largely different than the American system."

But for V-chip inventor Tim Colgate, who teaches electrical engineering at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby B.C., and who has been closely involved in developing a customized system over the past three years, the proposal comes as a blow. "It's like being hit by a locomotive," he says. "Here is a technology a lot of people are really proud of, yet when you look at how it's been rolled out, we've either missed the point or we've been pressured. We could have earned the torch on this one. It isn't at all typically Canadian."

Paradoxically, AGVOT is bowing to Valenti's lead at the very moment the American system is under assault from U.S. parent-teacher and mental health groups. Borrowed almost directly from the age-based movie ratings adopted by Hollywood 28 years ago, it is currently under review by the Federal Communications Commission. The system is prompting such a public outcry that Valenti has already been forced to tone down his rhetoric, averting the schism late December, he had warned that, if the FCC attempted changes, "we'll be in court in a nanosecond." Now, industry insiders

Is Canada's new ratings system a concession to U.S. pressures?

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WHAT MATTERS TO CANADIANS

MEDIA

ing excess violence before 9 p.m., and a broadcast standards council to which viewers can bring complaints.

But when Valenti proclaims that growing programs according to the intensity of their violence or sex scenes would be too complicated for parents to cope with, Collings scoffs. All those tests allow V-chip technology have managed that feat to parental approval. "You can get more consensus on what constitutes brief nudity around the world," he says, "than on what's suitable for a 12-year-old everywhere in this country." According to Collings, the opposition of both U.S. and Canadian broadcasters to content-based ratings comes down to the bottom line. "They supply more commercial information to parents," he cautions, "they will in the end block out other programs." That, in turn, translates into lower ratings. Says Collings, "It becomes a self-fulfilling."

Still, he did not realize how sticky—or political—when he first brought his V-chip technology to former CRTC chairman Keith Spicer six years ago. Now 35, and the father of three pre-teens, Spicer, aged 5 in one year, he jokes that "I started all this before I had kids, a TV or a clue." Late last fall, Valenti told the U.S. media that Collings' tests had proved so unwieldy, Canadian had jettisoned their content-based scheme—a mis-truth McQueen was obliged to correct. But last March, a month after Valenti announced that the U.S. industry would come up with its own TV ratings, the CRTC mandated this country's broadcasters to do the same. Suddenly, Collings found himself frozen out from the last test. "It's frustrating," he says. "People are saying, 'Why are broadcasters denying the public?' but that's like taking the last goal off the scoreboard."

Given both sides in the U.S. debate have a stake in this week's discussion, Douglas Frith, a former Liberal MP who, as president of the Canadian Motion Picture Distributors Association, has become Valenti's point man, concedes: "If we were to come up with a system that's not compatible with the U.S. system, it may give more impetus to the groups that have been opposed to Valenti."

Still, those with the greatest stakes in the debate dismiss the children themselves. And some educationists insist that that both the V-chip and its guidelines could ultimately do more harm than good—giving parents a false sense of technological security as TV shows grow increasingly violent. Says Heather van Rijssen, director of professional development for the Canadian Teachers' Federation: "What we got was an industry-controlled solution that eliminated the responsibility onto parents."

But McQueen argues that, like the besieged U.S. ratings, the Canadian system "is not static. It's in the beginning of what we hope is a dialogue with viewers," she says, "about the kind of TV they want to see." □

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THE POWER OF

The biography blues

Will a Quebec businessman's story ever get told?

BY MARK CARDWELL

It's not the kind of biography Quebec writer Pierre Tanguay was expecting from a new book. Four years ago, the award-winning author agreed to write a biography of the late Paul-Hervé Desrosiers, an influential businessman with close ties to the notoriously corrupt Union Nationale government of Quebec premier Maurice Duplessis. The work was commissioned by Desrosiers's great-nephew, Quebec home-conversion magnate Pierre Michael, who provided Tanguay with financial and technical support during the four-year task to research and write the book. When the final manuscript was ready for publishing, however, Michael demanded the removal of potentially explosive details about his grandfather's business dealings. When Tanguay refused, Michael went to Quebec Superior Court last August and won a temporary injunction in an ongoing legal battle that is fast becoming a free-speech cause célèbre in Quebec. "I'm dying of old age before the book is published," says 84-year-old Tanguay, a winner of Cormier Germain's Awards for fiction in 1983 and nominee in 1993. "But I won't give up because, if I lose, it means history is the privilege property of the rich."

The central issue in the case remains the court's interpretation of two signed contracts involving Tanguay and Michael. Under the terms of the first contract, signed in 1993, Michael paid Tanguay \$21,000 to conduct research and prepare an outline for a possible biography on Desrosiers, a heretofore little-known figure in Quebec history. Michael's enforcement of a five-page précis the following summer and a \$33,000 advance to Tanguay to enable him to finish the book — led to the second agreement, a contract between Tanguay and Sogelac Lise, a Montreal publisher. (That contract was later picked up by another Quebec publisher, Jacques Lacombe, when Sogelac failed to give Tanguay assurances that the manuscript would be published in 1995.) According to



Tanguay, the ongoing legal battle is threatening a broader speech cause célèbre

the terms of that agreement, Michael's loan would be repaid through sales of the book titled *P.H. le magnat*. Tanguay gave up his right to do so in return. Tanguay's lawyer argues, Michael wanted him to replace the work.

That may explain why Michael's lawyers decided to strengthen their client's hand by invoking Article 35 in Quebec's Civil Code, which came into effect on Jan. 1, 1994. The new article states: "Every person has the right to the respect of his/her reputation and privacy. No one may侵犯 the privacy of a person without the consent of the person or his heirs unless authorized by law." The use of the clause, together with Michael's request that the hearings into the matter be closed to the public (a request that was rejected in December but will be heard by Quebec Appeals Court), has added

an entirely new dimension to the case. In particular, it was Tanguay's support of the province's main writers and journalists association, as well as the Quebec Civil Liberties Union, a coalition of more than 100 organizations, including Quebec's two largest unions. "This has become far more than a commercial dispute," says the director of the Quebec Writers' Union, Pierre Lavoie, whose 600-member organization won an appeal on April 18 for the right to interview Tanguay.

Tanguay's defense, "It raises huge questions about the liberty of expression and freedom of the press," Tanguay's lawyer, François Séguin, who filed notice with Quebec's solicitor general the previous day that he will test the constitutionality of Article 35 if Michael wins, adds. "There is nothing in the Constitution or the Charter of Rights that says you need the captain of industry reveal information about dead people."

Lawrence Martin, Ottawa-based author of the acclaimed 1991 biography *Jean Chrétien: The Man to Win*, has also come up against the new Civil Code while researching a biography of Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard. After seeking an interview with Bouchard's first wife, Jacqueline Côté, he received a threatening letter last fall from her lawyer, Danielle Laprise, invoking the "right of privacy recognized by both the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Quebec Civil Code." Laprise demanded that Martin stop making inquiries into Côté's private life and hand over all files dealing with her. "I was astonished to receive that letter," says Martin. "How far can this go? Can you be charged with an offence for simply asking questions? In terms of free speech, it's very frightening—and quite scary."

Understandably, the publicity surrounding the Tanguay case has only fuelled speculation about what family secrets Michael wants to keep hidden about his prickly uncle. Born to humble circumstances in a small Quebec village in 1898, Desrosiers worked his way up from the factory floor to become a skilled company executive and a board member of several mining and manufacturing firms. Desrosiers, known as "P.H." in his friends, became the ultimate of a succession of Quebec predators from Duplessis to Robert Bourassa, and the founder of a multi-million-dollar building supply empire that employed more than 1,000 people at the time of his death at age 76. Desrosiers's flamboyant personal life—and the steady stream of government contracts that flowed through his companies, particularly during

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the Duplessis years—led Conrad Black to describe him in his 1977 biography of Duplessis as “one of the more callous contractors involved with government business in Quebec.”

Dessureault left the bulk of his estate to his two grand nephews, Claude and Pierre Michaud. In 1989, Pierre Michaud converted one of the companies, Val-Royal Builders Supply, into the 11-store Quebec renovation chain Brico-Depot. The company was sold last month for \$145 million to French hardware giant Castorama.

Because Pierre and Claude Michaud began working for Desrochers's business empire in the 1950s (in fact, Turgeon says they supplied him with some of the guest anecdotes that appear in the book), many people wonder why they commissioned the book in the first place. According to Turgeon, Pierre Michaud thought Desrochers was an important person in Quebec history, and should be as well known as Quebec credit union founder Alphonse Daigeler or anonymous investor Armand Barbeau. “Pierre told me ‘he uncle wasn’t a saint,’” Turgeon says, “but he wanted his story told.”

According to Michaud's lawyer, Marek Niziolek—who will try to convince the Quebec Appeals Court on June 8 that the case should be closed to the public—Michaud wanted the biography to be an internal document for Redit-Depot employees. “We’re not trying to prevent people from going off and doing their own research and writing a book on their findings, provided they don’t libel anyone,” says Niziolek. In Belan this particular case, Mr. Turgeon was given access to all sorts of information under a contractual agreement in which Mr. Michaud had complete discretion not to publish. “For Quebec writers in all fields, however, the case—and the use of Article 32 in particular—could have far-reaching consequences,” says René Darouche, a University of Montreal historian and co-author of a two-volume history of modern Quebec. “The idea that you need to have the permission of a deceased’s heirs is ludicrous. It would be simply impossible to write history.”

Others, however, simply wonder what all the fuss is about. Julie Ette-Baly, Desrochers's corporate secretary for more than 30 years, says she has read Turgeon's manuscript. “I think Mr. Desrochers would want this book published because he loved to shock people and he was happiest when people talked about him,” adds Ette-Baly. “I read Stevie Conner's book on McLaughlin and it was 10 times funnier than anything Mr. Turgeon talks about. Michaud's actions are just going to get people to rush out and buy the book when it's published, and they'll say ‘Is that all?’” Regardless of whether the book's content actually sensational, the story of a rocky road to publication is a genuine anomaly. □



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Mike's English mayhem

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

He is a Carnaby Street caricature, a mad phrygian from England's Swinging Sixties. He has the warm-caressed accent, the crushed-velvet bell-bottoms, the lingo-rimmed glasses. And the bad teeth. He is Austin Powers, fashion photographer by day, secret agent by night. Giggling about town in a sports coupe painted with a Union Jack, he lives for the moment and loves the world in his spare time. Goony cracks are all just part of his personal upholstery. Cynically framed in 1967, and distorted 30 years later, Austin Powers is a gaudy anachronism—frenetic bag of free-flowing libido of an effervescent pickup line: "Let's shag, baby!" Transformed from an era when gallantries were cute and dragqueer cool, he wakes upon a world of stale sex, group therapy and female empowerment.

By turns silly and sly, sophomoric and sophisticated, *Austin Powers: International Man of Mystery* is the least inspired creation from Canadian comic writer Mike Myers. The 33-year-old Toronto native, whose rise to stardom on TV's *Saturday Night Live* is best known for the 1992 hit movie *Nightmare World*, based on an SNL sketch, which spawned a popular sequel and a lexicon of catch-phrases—from the exuberant "schwing!" to the habit of punctuating statements with an exclamation mark!—Austin Powers, and dad, looks from a different seat of the pop spectrum than Wayne Campbell, besotted nerd-banger. But the swinger and the schwinger have much in common. Like Wayne, Austin is an arrested adolescent who walks with a swagger and talks in lingo ("dysfunctional lady"). He, too, wears his women as he loves—and gets away with it because he is such an unsmiling nerd, a spile of himself.

But while Wayne's character sprang directly from Myers's own youth in the do-it-yourself days of suburban Scarborough, Austin Powers was synthesized from stuff he watched on TV as a teenager. "When a movie was coming on," he recalls, "you'd circle the TV guide and prep the room. You'd go buy Domestos brand toilet-cleansing and Grand Princé, and some Cherry blossoms, and you'd wait for the movies *Kelly Herd*, *The Party Game*, *Grease*. Any of the James Bond movies. Or the Matt Helm movies. It was the earliest food of culture."

Myers, who now lives in Los Angeles, is home for the weekend, visiting Toronto to promote Austin Powers. He has agreed to escort for dinner at a Japanese restaurant across the street from his hotel. It is a chilly Sunday night, and the place is eerily deserted. Myers shows up dressed in black, and swallows in a scarf, which stays there for the entire meal. He has a lingering cold that has graduated to asthma, he explains. "I've never had asthma, and now I've got one of



those little respiratory things." He orders the beef teriyaki. "I'm severely hypoglycemic, and they recommended a lot of protein."

Myers is polite, serious and sincere. He is not "on" during the interview; but there is evidence of an erudite wit. This is, after all, the Mike Myers who, as a high school student, wrote essays titled "The Spy Who Loved Me" and "Joseph Campbell's Hero Cycle" and "Louis Malle's Lacombe, Lucien"; who was lastingly evil or was he a product of his time? Myers submitted the essays as part of his application to Toronto's York University, but he chose instead to join Toronto's Second City Comedy Trupe. "It was my last day of high school," he recalls. "My last car was sold at 5 p.m. My mother for Second City was at school. It was the last boot of cash."

Years later in New York City, Saturday Night Live producer Lorne Michaels invited Myers to a dinner with French director Malle (now deceased) and Malle's wife, Cecile Bremen. "I was just sitting there quiet," recalls Myers. "Because, you know, it's Louis Malle. He's talking about himself—he's a huge Yvesine fan—and finally Lorne says, 'Mike, you have a question?'" Myers asked his essay question about the Nazi collaboration in *Lacombe, Lucien*. "He said what is

rarely evil," adds Myers. "I felt like Woody Allen pulling Marshall McLuhan from his head that poster in *Annie Hall*!"

Myers behaves as much like a fan as a star. *Audrey Hepburn* plays as both an homage to pop culture and a parody of it. Austin Powers is a hilarious spoof, with gags that run the gamut from toilet humor to high camp. It is riddled with touchy references. First, there are the obvious allusions to James Bond. Austin has gadget weapons, casino-escapades, and an arch nemesis named Dr. Evil—played by Myers with a clawed head and a larynx—who creates a cat in his lap while plotting world domination from an underground fortress. "Finally, it's Donald Pleasence," explains Myers, referring to the actor who played the villain in *You Only Live Twice*. "He's one of those bad guys who, before they kill you, bore you with their knowledge of exotica."

Meanwhile, as the shark-chasing London swinger, Austin's character offers a rich parody of the decadent fashion photographer played by David Hemmings in *Blow Up* (1966). And Austin's love interest, a nononsense executive named Vanessa Kensington (Elizabeth Hurley), was inspired by Emma Peel of the classic TV series *The Avengers*.

The whole cast—which includes Robert Wagner, Michael York and Carrie Fisher—has a distinctly retro tone. In fact, bearing Burt Bacharach's retro ballad, "Look of Love" on the ear radio is what gave Myers the idea for the film in the first place. "It made me laugh," he says. "I started talking like Austin in the car. I went home and talked to my wife, Shannen. She liked that. She laughed for a few days, then said, 'Ooh, we had enough of that. Now just go write a story!'" Myers wrote the script in three weeks, sold it to New Line Cinema, and became a co-producer. He also persuaded New Line to hire a cast that runs deep. It comes out in the way he talks about his home town, his beloved Maple Leafs, and Second City but also such as the late Gilda Radner and John Goodman. He also speaks of the loss of his father, who died in 1991, and how, as a child of Liverpool parents, "I grew up thinking I was related to the Beatles. No one else in our neighborhood had that." He remembers a post-show party at Saturday Night Live, where he sat with his brother Paul and watched Bill McCay, who gave a poignant concert. "He sang *Requiem* at the end, and we start to cry, and I look over and Bill Murray and his brother are bawling, crying."

Recently, Myers remained SNTV as a guest host. He remembers watching *SNL* as a kid. "It's going back to his old high school feeling like a weirdo? That's it. I looked up at the lighting grid, and a guy in the crew had put 'Welcome back, Mike' right by number 22 on the lighting grid." That, he explains, is his number. "My father was born on June 22. My father passed away 11/25. I was born on December 8. It's my number in baseball. When I gathered for Saturday Night Live, I stayed in Room 1222. I flew in on Flight 22. It landed on Runway 22. Lorrie's office is at 1222. It's a number that follows me around." But, he adds, "don't make decisions based on it. It's not anything I have to take medication for."

Myers is less philosophical about growing up. "You go through phases in life," he says. "You get a tattoo. You get a fetus on a frame. You get a grown-up body. You get married. You get dogs. You have kids. We're not in our first phase." Myers and his American wife have bought a house in LA, but are not sure where they will settle. New York perhaps. He says his choices, like Roles, are serendipitous: "I would have trouble working in Canada."

In the restaurant, the waiters smileably ask for an autograph. Myers graciously complies. Before leaving, he requests a bluecoat container for his beef teriyaki, which he has barely touched. He apologizes. He might get hungry later, back at his hotel room. Myers glances out the restaurant window and sees a mariachi across the street. "You gotta love a city where *Shrek* and *Die Hard* are playing in the theaters," he says. "You don't see that anywhere in the world." He heads out into the night. It is cold for April, but he even seems to like Toronto weather—he talks about going for a walk with his mother in a "lovely drizzle." In the morning, he'll fly back to swing over Los Angeles, a land of make believe where Austin Powers would feel right at home. □

The star of *Wayne's World* sends up the swinging '60s



Myers out of character, and as Austin Powers—synthesizing what he watched on TV as a teenager in audiences Toronto



Allan Fotheringham

Why Tony Blair goes coatless into the rain

As London's April showers dull the dabbles that stretch between Green Park across from Buckingham Palace, all the talk is that Tony Blair never wears a jacket. This is what poses for an issue in this strange election.

There was a time, when there was social division in the land, when Anne Boleyn, the roving onerous frog Welsh campaigning country, stood in the House of Commons and called the Conservatives "wimps." Now Tony Blair, who undoubtedly this week will be the first Labour prime minister in 18 years, never utters the word "socialism" and stills interest because he never wears a topcoat.

The reason he never wears a top-coat is because his handlers want to evoke the image of John F. Kennedy, the first politician never to wear a coat while campaigning. The idea, naturally, was to cast the image of youthful vigor and old fogies in scravvys and berbangers.

It worked, of course, for JFK, and it is working for bouncy Tony Blair, who at 45 would be the youngest British PM in more than 100 years. Every Tony Blair's handiwork, first in the Commons in 1990, long ago gave up his inheritance site in the House of Lords to keep running as a commoner. He's now in his 37th campaign and, twice a day in his bathrobe, has his hump with the daily "Sun" from Millbank Tower in London, the Labour Party headquarters.

Such is the success of his pitch that once-fiercely Tony Benn, now 72, sits in his kitchen in Cheshirefield, out in Derbyshire, and remains silent. Every Tony Blair's handiwork, first in the Commons in 1990, long ago gave up his inheritance site in the House of Lords to keep running as a commoner. He's now in his 37th campaign and, twice a day in his bathrobe, has his hump with the daily "Sun" from Millbank Tower in London, the Labour Party headquarters.

There can be no variance in the daily "line"—just as Clinton

It's a strange election, in a town where in a decent hotel a hamberger costs \$29. And where they're actually talking about getting Prince Charles a real job.

It seems the warning couriers at Buck House—Princess Di of the expensive hair having been dispatched—are divided over how to repair the hair's fading tinge. Especially as his man's gene lines indicate it will be well into the next century if he is ever to inherit the monarchy that a dysfunctional family has almost destroyed.

One camp has noted that he hasn't missed a day on his horse in the last six months of the heating season. Just what one employed

Yukon-havers know? He's said to be slightly pained over the Blair campaign pledge to ban foal trapping. When he took his sons to the soccer final at Wembley, Charles could not disguise his boredom from the cameras.

With that gene pool problem—his brother mother was 77 last week and the graying Queen Maja says at 80—what do you do with a guy who will be 50 next year and likes horses better than he likes people? A real job? Where?

Tony Blair doesn't care. Son-of-a-Tory lawyer who wanted to be a Tory prime minister before being cut down by a scribe, he was sent to a privileged private school and Oxford and somehow became a socialist—the name that is never mentioned and is forbidden in this campaign.

Just to have these middle-class voters be soots, he has added that traditional Labour color of red—which frightened off all those suburban ladies of men who see images of Moscow sweater marches—and replaced it with purple in the campaign signs. The royal purple, befitting someone who wants all those blushing Tory votives in the shires who think it's cool and doesn't wear a topcoat in the rain.

Lake Clinton, who was killed by a tougher female partner at law school, Blair entered a tougher fellow lawyer at university. They have plotted their course on the Clinton pattern, the slickness of Millbank Tower's shadowy contrast to Conservative leadership on the embankment down the Thames staffed by clattering ladies out of the Women's Institute who have no idea what they're doing.

And the population, taking on the Elizabethans, eaten down and gasses the rats of the IRA who try the election-disrupting bomb scores.

Tony Blair gives his Jenny Carter and acts with the backroom confidantes of Bill Clinton. He is helped by the haleakalā column of Maggie, who hovers above the head of the earnest Major; the Local 10 radio host who can wipe him out with a single broadside (Ms. Brian Mulroney knowingly did to Jean Chretien the other day).

It is a cruel business, politics. And Tony Blair, the poor Tony who never lets the filthy word "socialism" cross his pristine lips, is going to whip the Tories who don't know what to do, since they admit who they are.



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